



THE
KNIGHTS OF MALTA,

OR THE

ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

BY

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MAJOR-GENERAL, ROYAL ENGINEERS.

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PREFACE.

THE first edition of this work, published in October, 1858, was the result of two years' close and careful study of the archives of Malta, placed at my disposal by the late Sir William Reid, then Governor of the island. Exactly a quarter of a century later, I brought out a second and much amplified edition, embodying all the additional information that I had been able during those years to collect. Whilst this was steadily passing into the hands of the public, the great Paternoster Row fire of April last destroyed almost all that was left unsold. I have decided on taking the opportunity thus afforded to produce a third edition, which, I trust, may prove more attractive to the general reader than the portly volume which has passed through the flames. Students of the history of the Order are still referred to that work for the more minute details it contains, whilst those who would be deterred from its perusal by its size and costliness, will find all the more interesting portions reproduced in the present handier volume.

SEPTEMBER, 1884.

CONTENTS.



CHAPTER I.

1099—1160.

	PAGE
Development of chivalry—Condition of Palestine prior to the first Crusade—Establishment of the Hospital of St. John—Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders—Foundation of the Order of St. John—Death of Gerard and election of Raymond du Puy—Military constitution of the Order—Regulations for its establishment—Admission of candidates—Establishment of commanderies—Regulations respecting dress—Foundation of the Templars and Order of St. Lazarus—Loss of Edessa—Siege and capture of Ascalon—Jealousies of the clergy—Death of Raymond du Puy—Description of the present state of the ruins of the Hospital at Jerusalem	1

CHAPTER II.

1160—1291.

Expedition into Egypt, and death of D'Ascali—Rise of Saladin—Dissensions in the kingdom—Battle of Tiberias—Loss of Jerusalem—Its main causes—Establishment of the Hospital at Margat—Retirement of the ladies of the Order to Europe—The third Crusade—Siege and capture of Acre—Alfonso of Portugal—Dissensions between the Hospitallers and Templars—Andrew, king of Hungary, admitted into the Order—Fifth Crusade—Its failure—Coronation of the emperor Frederic at Jerusalem—The Korasmians—Battle of Gaza—Reforms in the Order—Crusades of St. Louis—Sanguinary combat between the Hospitallers and Templars—Loss of Margat—Siege and fall of Acre	35
--	----

CHAPTER III.

1291—1365.

	PAGE
Establishment of the Order in Cyprus—Its first naval armaments—Project for the capture of Rhodes—Death of William de Villaret, and accession of his brother—Capture of Rhodes—Destruction of the Order of the Temple—Arrogance of Fulk de Villaret—His flight to Lindos—Appeals to the Pope—His resignation, and appointment of Elyon de Villeneuve—Division of the Order into <i>langues</i> —Dieudonné de Gozon and the dragon of Rhodes—His election as Grand-Master—Succession of Cornillan and de Pins	6

CHAPTER IV.

Divisions of class in the Order— <i>Langues</i> —Grand-Master, his position and power—Courts of Egard—Bailiffs, their offices—Adaptation of the Order to change of circumstances—System of management in commanderies—Report on the grand-priory of England in 1338—Details of income and expenditure—Gross results and number of members	9
---	---

CHAPTER V.

1365—1480.

Expedition to Alexandria—Election of Heredia—His previous history—He escorts the Pope to Rome—Is captured by the Turks—Returns to Avignon—His death, and election of de Naillac—Battle of Nicopolis—Timour the Tartar—His overthrow of Bajazet—Loss of Smyrna—Erection of the fortress of St. Peter at Budrum and of the tower of St. Michael—Elections of Fluvian and de Lastic—Descent on Rhodes—Fall of Constantinople—Elections of de Milly and Zacosta—Formation of an eighth <i>langue</i> —Election of Orsini—Fall of Negropont—Preparations for defence of Rhodes—Death of Orsini, and nomination of Peter d'Aubusson—His previous history—Description of Rhodes—The three renegades—D'Aubusson made dictator	11
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST SIEGE OF RHODES IN 1480.

PAGE

Arrival of the Turkish Army before Rhodes—First attack on fort St. Nicholas—Its failure—Breach opened in the Jews' quarter—Attempted assassination of the Grand-Master—Second attack on St. Nicholas, and its failure—Second advance on the Jews' quarter—Execution of Maître Georges—Last assault of the Turks, and its repulse—Close of the siege—List of English knights present—Losses of the Turkish army	141
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

1480—1522.

Preparations of Mahomet for a new siege—His death—Flight of Djem to Rhodes—His departure for France—His removal to Rome, and death—Death of D'Aubusson—History of the relic of the hand of St. John the Baptist—Succession of D'Amboise, Blanchefort, and Carretto—Usurpation of Selim and extension of his empire—Accession of Solyman—Death of Carretto, and election of L'Isle Adam—Description of Rhodes in 1521 and at present—Fall of Belgrade—Preparations for defence—Detail of the garrison and of the Turkish force—Arrival of the Ottoman army at Rhodes	163
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SECOND SIEGE OF RHODES, 1522.

Commencement of the siege—Plot by a female slave within the city—Construction of cavaliers—Mining operations—Assault on the tower of St. Mary—Repeated attacks and their repulse—Accusations against the chancellor D'Amaral—His trial and execution—Negotiations for surrender—Terms offered by Solyman—Their acceptance—Close of the siege and surrender of the island	188
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

1522—1565.

PAC

Departure of the Order for Candia, Messina, and Civita Vecchia—
 L'Isle Adam visits Madrid, Paris, and London—Malta ceded to
 the Order—Its antecedent history—Tripoli—Its disadvantages
 and dangers—Description of the harbours of Malta—Settlement
 of the convent in the Bourg—Death of L'Isle Adam—Election
 of Dupont, St. Gilles, and D'Omedes—Turkish descent on Malta
 —Destruction of the English *langue*—Election of La Sangle—
 Fortification of Senglea—Accession of La Valette—Preparations
 by Solyman for an attack on Malta—Description of its garrison
 and defences 21

CHAPTER X.

SIEGE OF MALTA, 1565.

Disembarkation of the Turkish force—Siege of St. Elmo com-
 menced—Heavy battering train—Arrival of Dragut—Capture
 of the covered way and ravelin—First assault and its failure—
 Petition to La Valette for relief—Its refusal, and consequent
 insubordination—Return to obedience—Repeated assaults—The
 fort cut off from succour—Dragut mortally wounded—Fall of
 St. Elmo—Massacre of the garrison 23

CHAPTER XI.

SIEGE OF MALTA, 1565—*continued*.

Arrival of a reinforcement to the garrison—Investment of the
 Bourg—Transport of galleys across the Isthmus—Attack on
 Senglea—Breach established on the post of Castile—Repeated
 assaults at both points—Exhaustion of the garrison—Arrival
 of a succouring force from Sicily—Close of the siege—Causes
 of the successful defence 25

CHAPTER XII.

1565—1680.

PAGE

General exultation at the successful defence of Malta—Rumours of a new Turkish expedition—Death of Solyman—Commencement of the city of Valetta—Death of La Valette, and accession of de Monte—Transfer of the convent to Valetta—Battle of Lepanto—Election of La Cassière—Sedition against him—Building of St. John's cathedral—Election of Verdala—Arrival of the Jesuits—Alof de Vignacourt—The Malta aqueduct—Election of Lascaris—Battle of the Dardanelles—Commencement of the Floriana enceinte—The brothers Cottoner—Sir John Narbrough's visit to Malta—Construction of the Cottonera lines and fort Ricasoli—Death of Cottoner—Decadence of the Turkish empire and of the Order	273
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

The career of a knight as a novice, professed knight, commander, and bailiff—The auberges—The chaplains—Position of the Grand-Master—His election, household, and revenues—The navy—Revenues of the Order—Property and dignities of the various <i>langues</i> —The Hospital—Description of the establishment at Malta—Its regulations and staff—Criticisms of Howard	295
---	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

The chapter-general: its constitution and mode of procedure—The councils of the Order—Its punishments—Acts forbidden by the statutes—The question of duelling—Midnight disturbances—The question of chastity—Institution of slavery—Slave trade at Malta—Treatment of the Maltese by the Order—The bailiwick of Brandenburg	315
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

THE "LANGUE" OF ENGLAND.

Foundation at Clerkenwell—Introduction of the fraternity into Scotland and Ireland—Destruction of priory by Wat Tyler—Restoration by Docwra—St. John's Gate—Lease of Hampton to Wolsey—Suppression of the *langue* by Henry VIII.—Revival by Queen Mary—Final suppression by Elizabeth—Subsequent fate of the Priory, Church, and Gate—Revival of the *langue*—Its objects and present state 3

CHAPTER XVI.

Gregory Caraffa—Adrian de Vignacourt—Raymond Perrelos—Embassy from Russia—Construction of a new fleet—Zondodari—Manöel de Vilhena—Erection of fort Manöel—Emanuel Pinto—François Ximenes—De Rohan—Convocation of the last chapter-general—Erection of fort Tigné—The French revolution—Destruction of the French *langues*—Death of de Rohan and election of von Hompesch—Establishment of a Russian priory—Capture of Malta decreed—Arrival of the French fleet before the island—Dispositions of Bonaparte for the attack—State of the town—Inefficiency of von Hompesch—Surrender of the island—Departure of the knights for Russia—Election of the emperor Paul as Grand-Master—French decree on assuming possession of the island—Departure of Bonaparte for Egypt. 3

CHAPTER XVII.

Insurrection of the Maltese—Blockade of the French within the fortress—Arrival of the joint British and Portuguese fleet—Details of the blockade—Sufferings of the garrison—Perseverance of the Maltese—Capture of the men-of-war sheltered in the harbour—Capitulation of the French—Treaty of Amiens—Eventual transfer of the island to the British—History of the Order since the death of the emperor Paul—Its present position at Rome—Conclusion.

SEALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN
 CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE GRAND-MASTERS OF THE ORDER

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
ST. JOHN'S GATE, IN THE MURISTÂN, JERUSALEM	<i>Frontispiece</i>
VIEW OF PART OF THE MURISTÂN, FORMING THE QUADRANGLE	
OF THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERY, BEHIND THE CHURCH OF	
STA. MARIA MAJOR, BEFORE THE EXCAVATIONS WERE COM-	
MENCED BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT	33
MAP OF RHODES, TO ILLUSTRATE THE SIEGES OF 1480 AND	
1522	134
FACSIMILE OF ONE OF THE WOODCUTS IN CAOURSIN'S "OBSIDIO	
RHODIE," SHOWING THE FORM OF THE TOWN	162
MAP OF THE FORTRESS OF MALTA, TO ILLUSTRATE THE SIEGE	
OF 1565	232
ARMS ON ST. JOHN'S GATE, CLERKENWELL	339
MONUMENT OF SIR WILLIAM WESTON, FORMERLY IN ST.	
JAMES' CHURCH, CLERKENWELL	342
SEALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.	395

Order of St. John offshoot of Chivalry
of Middle Ages

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CHAPTER I.

1099—1160.

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THE Order of St. John of Jerusalem was one of the most important offshoots of the spirit of chivalry which prevailed in Europe during the Middle Ages. In those times personal prowess being considered man's proudest ornament, and the pursuit of learning abandoned to the monk in his cloistered retreat, the profession of arms was the only occupation open to the youth of high and noble state. Taught from childhood to take delight in the military exercises which formed the daily occupation of the retainers in every baronial castle, he imbibed at an early age that ardent craving for distinction which was one of the fundamental principles of chivalry. Imbued

with the religious veneration of the period—a veneration deeply tinged with superstition—he was led to consider : sacred the obligations imposed on him by the chivalric code. To fight in defence of his religion was not only duty, it was also an inestimable privilege. He had been taught that pardon for his sins was to be purchased by display of martial zeal on behalf of his faith, and that the shedding of his blood in such a sacred cause would insure him an entry into the joys of Heaven. This doctrine appealed in the warmest and most direct manner to the prevailing sentiments of the time. What wonder then that it was eagerly accepted and gradually worked its way through all ranks of society?

Whilst such was the bent of public feeling in Europe there arose in the East a cry for the help of Christendom which at once aroused the martial ardour of the nation to a pitch of frenzy. The Byzantine empire had continued to maintain its rule long after its western sister had fallen beneath the attacks of the northern barbarians. True, it was much reduced in extent; still, at the beginning of the seventh century the Euphrates remained the Asiatic boundary of the empire. Her rulers, however either dreading the treachery of usurpers, or being usurpers themselves, were less on the look out to check the inroads of the surrounding wild tribes than to secure their own position on the tottering throne. Encompassed by enemies within and without, that position was year by year becoming one of increasing difficulty, and demanded on the part of the monarchs, as the only possible means of maintaining its integrity, the highest administrative capacity, coupled with extreme skill in the art of defensive warfare. Unfortunately for the empire her rulers evinced no such gifts. Instead of striving to make head against

the constant encroachments of neighbours, they plunged madly into all the voluptuous degeneracy of the times, and vainly sought to conceal their weakness and cowardice behind the idle pomp of a gorgeous magnificence. Under such circumstances, the power which had at one time extended over the whole of eastern Europe, and had shared the empire of the world with its sister of Rome, crumbled away by degrees and became a mere phantom of its original greatness.

One province, however, still continued to command the affectionate interest and sympathy of Europe, and that was Judæa, within the limits of which stood the holy city

Jerusalem. Since the days of our Lord the vicissitudes of fortune and the results of war had brought about any changes within its sacred precincts. The capture of the city by Titus had led to the dispersion of the Jews and the establishment of pagan worship in the land allowed by the footsteps of our Saviour. During the fourth century, however, Christianity won its way throughout the empire, and before long its churches began to replace the temples of paganism. Foremost amongst these stood that of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, erected by the empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great. She had been baptized at the same time as her son, and with all the newly-awakened zeal of convert had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. To her is attributed the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre itself; and upon its site she erected the magnificent pile which bears its name. Her example was followed by Constantine, and by degrees the numerous stately churches and convents which they founded formed the principal ornament of the province.

Jerusalem now became the favoured object of the world's

devotion. Religious curiosity had from the earliest time prompted Christians to visit the regions sanctified by the faith. This feeling, supported as it was by the influence of the priesthood, grew in intensity until at length it became recognized that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was the most efficacious act by which the penitent could hope to atone for his sins. Vast crowds flocked thither from every corner of Europe to utter a prayer over the tomb of the Saviour, and to gaze on the hallowed spot where He had breathed His last. The very dust of the land was sacred in their eyes, and the pious wanderer, on his return, hung his withered palm branch and pilgrim's staff over the altar of his parish church, where they remained not only as an emblem of his own devotion but also an incentive to others to follow his example.

Matters were on this footing when there arose from the obscurity of the East that wonderful man who was destined to become the founder at the same time of a new empire and a new religion. It will not come within the province of this work to enter into any detail with regard to the rise and progress of Mahomet, who in the early part of the seventh century established himself as the prophet of a new faith. Within a very short time from the commencement of his career he had brought the whole of Arabia under his dominion. A fundamental doctrine of his religion being the necessity for its propagation by the power of the sword, the lust of conquest lent its aid to the zeal of fanaticism, and the new creed spread with a rapidity unequalled in the annals of religious propagandism.

After the death of Mahomet, his successors, who assumed the title of caliph or vicar of the prophet, gradually overran the neighbouring provinces. Damascus, Antioch, and Syria having fallen to their arms, the

penetrated into Palestine, seized upon Jerusalem, and passing from thence into Egypt annexed that country also to their empire. Media, Korassan, and Mesopotamia shared the same fate, and entering Africa they spread themselves over the whole of its northern coast. In Europe, after having successively captured the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Sicily, and Malta, they founded a new empire in the heart of Spain, whence they carried on for many years a desperate struggle with the Christians of the surrounding provinces.

Of all these conquests the one which caused the greatest animosity, and was in after times fraught with the most eventful results, was that of the Holy Land and the city of Jerusalem. So long as the Christian emperors of the East maintained their rule over its sacred limits, the advent of pilgrims from all parts had been encouraged to the greatest possible extent. The government had early discovered that a large amount of money was by this means brought into the empire, and that its commerce was much extended by the vast concourse of ever-changing people collected together within the favoured district. Matters altered greatly for the worse when the province fell into the hands of the caliphs. Although they were far too keen-sighted and politic to prohibit altogether the influx of this stream of Christians into the sacred city, they nevertheless imposed upon them such heavy taxes as told materially on the slender finances of the pilgrims, and became a source of considerable profit to their own treasury.

The infidels were at that time much divided by serious discords among themselves. Shortly after Mahomet's death they had split up into separate factions, each led by a chief who claimed for himself the right of empire as being the nearest in descent from the prophet. There

were at one time no less than five distinct pretenders to this position. The sovereignty of the Holy Land had been warmly contested between two of these rivals—the caliphs of Bagdad and of Egypt. In their struggles for supremacy the poor unoffending pilgrims of the West were miserably harassed and plundered, first by one party, and then by the other, and were not unfrequently murdered. These dangers and impediments were not, however, sufficient to check the ardour of their religious zeal, nor did the fear of maltreatment deter a vast and annually increasing number of devotees from seeking the shores of Palestine.

Many of these pilgrims combined the profits of commerce with their holier object, and those who were thus able to establish business relations with the rulers of the neighbouring provinces had it often in their power to befriend their less fortunate brethren. Amongst the most distinguished of these were some merchants of Amalfi, a rich city in the kingdom of Naples, still existing though greatly shorn of its old wealth and importance. These, having in the course of their trading in Egypt ingratiated themselves with the caliph Monstaser Billah, who at that time held the Holy Land in his power, obtained permission to establish a hospital within the city of Jerusalem, for the use of poor and sick Latin pilgrims. In obedience to the order of the caliph, the Mahometan governor of the city assigned to these pious men a site closé to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, on which they erected one dedicated to the Virgin, giving it the name of Sta. Maria ad Latinos, to distinguish it from those churches where the Greek ritual prevailed. This work was accomplished between the years 1014—1023.* Its religious

* The usual date given by the older historians for this establishment is 1048. There is, however, still extant a charter granted for

duties were carried on by Benedictine monks appointed for the purpose. Between that time, and the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, the work was developed by the erection of two hospitals, for the reception of pilgrims (one for either sex), and in connection therewith two additional churches were founded; that for the females was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and that for men to St. John Eleemon or the Almoner. This latter dedication was at some subsequent date (which is uncertain) changed from St. John the Almoner to St. John the Baptist. In the course of time, many pilgrims who had in this hospital received the assistance so liberally extended to all wayfarers abandoned the idea of returning to their homes, and formed themselves into a charitable body, who, without any regular religious profession, devoted themselves to its service, and the care of its sick inmates.

All the chief cities of Italy and the south of Europe subscribed liberally for the support of this admirable and much wanted institution. The merchants of Amalfi, who were its original founders, acted as the stewards of their bounty, and as its beneficial influence became more widely known throughout Europe, its revenues increased largely. Grateful pilgrims on their return home spread far and wide the reputation of the Jerusalem hospitals, so that contributions flowed in from every quarter, and their utility was greatly extended. Such was the original establishment from which the Order of St. John eventually sprang, and it was from this fraternity of

the re-endowment of this church and monastery by Melek Muzaffer in 1223. My authority for this statement is Capt. C. Conder, R.E., whose name is well known in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund.

charitable devotees that a body of men descended, who for centuries continued a terror to the infidel, and the main bulwark of Christendom in the East.

Meanwhile, a calamitous change befell the sacred city. Its Mahometan masters, after four centuries of dominion were in their turn overpowered by a fierce horde of barbarians, bearing the name of Turcomans, who, coming from the wild regions beyond the Caspian Sea, poured themselves gradually over all the countries bordering on the Euphrates. The Holy Land soon fell into their hands, and from that moment a new and most disastrous era dawned upon the pilgrims. Their tribute was largely increased; and more than this, they themselves were plundered, maltreated, and subjected to every kind of atrocity, in comparison with which their former hardships seemed light indeed. From this time the journey to and the sojourn in Jerusalem became an undertaking fraught with the greatest possible danger. A large number of the pilgrims, who still endeavoured to make their way thitherward, never returned, and those who were fortunate enough to do so, spread the evil tidings of what they had been called on to suffer, so that gradually a strong feeling of horror and indignation was evoked throughout Europe.

In the year 1093, whilst these cruelties were at their height, Peter the Hermit, a Latin monk who had been so called on account of the rigid austerities and seclusion of his life, returned from a pilgrimage which he, like so many others, had made to the Holy Land. He had witnessed the hardships and barbarities to which the Christian sojourners in Jerusalem were subjected, and had doubtless undergone much himself. He determined, therefore, to devote his energies to the suppression of the

il, and applied to the Greek patriarch, Simeon, for assistance in the good cause. The Greek empire was at this time in far too insecure and tottering a condition to admit the possibility of any armed intervention from that quarter, but Simeon warmly embraced the opportunity of rendering what help he could, and gave Peter a letter of commendation to Urban II., who at that time occupied the chair of St. Peter. Fortified with this introduction, as well as with a second letter of similar tenor from Gerard, the rector of the Hospital of St. John, at Jerusalem, the Hermit proceeded to Rome, and there headed his cause in person.

The result of these efforts forms a prominent feature in the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The religious enthusiasm of Europe was aroused to a pitch of frenzy, and vast armaments assembled from all quarters, and poured eastward. After the miserable dispersion of the first undisciplined mobs who, led by the fanatic Peter, rushed forward in tumultuous disarray, the armed chivalry of Europe gradually collected on the plains before Constantinople, where they mustered to the strength of 600,000 foot and 100,000 horse. This enormous army was under the chief command of Bohemond, son of the count of Calabria. Its advance was marked by the successive capture of the cities of Nicea, Antioch, Tarsus, and Edessa, and at length, on the 7th of June, 1099, it made its appearance before the Holy City. The caliph of Egypt, taking advantage of the warfare which the Turcomans were then carrying on against the Crusaders, had succeeded once more obtaining possession of Palestine, and was at this period in occupation of Jerusalem, which he had garrisoned with a force of 40,000 men. There

THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

were also in the city about 20,000 Mahometan inhabitants capable of bearing arms. The force of the besiegers, diminished as they had been by their previous struggles and the privations they had undergone, numbered barely 20,000 foot and about 1,500 horse.

The first step taken by the Mahometan government on the appearance of the enemy before the town, was the arrest of all the leading Christians in the place. Peter Gerard, the rector of the Hospital of St. John, was of the number of those who were thus cast into prison. He is generally supposed to have been a native of Florence, but the matter is very doubtful; neither his family nor even his country has been with any certainty ascertained. He had undertaken a pilgrimage to the East in accordance with the prevailing custom of the times, and having been an eye-witness of the many charities administered by the Hospital, he had abandoned all idea of returning to Europe, and devoted himself instead to the service of the institution. Here, by his energy and zeal, as well as by the general piety of his life, he gained so much influence that eventually he was appointed rector. At the same time a noble Roman lady, called Agnes, was at the head of the female branch of the Hospital. Pilgrims of both sexes were admitted freely, even the infidels were not excluded from its benefits, in consequence of which the rector became gradually looked up to with almost filial veneration by the poor of the city. It was the dread that this influence might be utilized in favour of the besiegers which induced the governor, as a matter of precaution, to imprison Gerard. He also caused all the wells within a circuit of five or six miles of the town to be filled up, and levelled even

building in the suburbs, burning the wood of which they were composed, so that the besiegers, when they arrived, found nothing but an arid waste encircling the city.

In spite of their numerical inferiority and the obstacles thrown in their way, the Crusaders at once proceeded to carry on the siege of the town. On the fifth day a general assault was attempted, but owing to the want of proper military engines, the effort proved futile, and the assailants were driven with great loss from the walls. To remedy this defect, Godfrey de Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse had two large wooden towers built to assist the attacking party in their escalade. A second assault was delivered on the 19th July. This proved entirely successful. Godfrey, by means of his towers, penetrated within the walls, and then, opening the gates, gave admission to the whole army.

A scene of bloodshed and cruelty now took place which has cast an indelible stain upon what would otherwise have ranked as a most glorious achievement. Not content with the slaughter of those who were found with arms in their hands, the women and children indiscriminately fell victims to the ferocity of the conquerors. It is computed that no less than 9,000 persons were massacred within the limits of the mosque of Omar alone. The carnage on this spot was so fearful that the dead bodies were floated by the stream of blood into the court, and the Christian knights rode through the place with blood above their horses' fetlocks. On the following day an occurrence still more disgraceful took place. A body of 300 men, to whom Tancred had pledged his knightly word in token of protection, were murdered in cold blood, it having

been decided by the assembled leaders that no quart should on any pretence be given to the Saracens.

At length the slaughter ceased, and, satiated with blood, the commanders of the army, followed by the soldiery, bareheaded, and with naked feet, proceeded to the Holy Sepulchre, there to offer up their prayers and to return thanks for the successful issue of their sacred undertaking. Incongruous as this act may appear after the scenes just enacted, it was in strict accordance with the spirit of the age, when the piety of the Christian was closely allied to the intolerance of the fanatic. Their religious duties accomplished, they once proceeded to organize a government for the newly acquired territory. The majority of the suffrages fell on Godfrey de Bouillon, a prince who was noted for his piety as much as for his valour, and he was once placed in the position of ruler. Refusing the crown and title of king which were tendered to him on the plea that he would never wear a crown of gold on the spot where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns, he modestly determined to content himself with the title of Defender and Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre. He has, however, always ranked as the first king of Jerusalem.

One of the earliest steps which he took after assuming the reins of government was to visit the Hospital of St. John. Here he found a number of wounded Crusaders who had been received into the building, and were being nursed with the most tender solicitude. Godfrey was so much struck with the admirable manner in which the establishment was conducted by Gerard, and with the benefits it had conferred on his suffering army, that he at once endowed it with his manor of Montbois.

Brabant.* His example was followed by several of the other leaders of the army, who had, either in their own persons or in those of their followers, experienced the kindness and hospitality of the institution.

The main object for which the expedition had been undertaken having been attained, and the Holy City rescued from the hands of the infidel, the greater portion of the crusading army returned to Europe. The fame of the Hospital was by their means spread abroad in every direction, and, in consequence, numerous additional benefactions accrued to it, until eventually there was scarcely a province in which it did not stand possessed of manorial rights. Its ranks received at the same time a large augmentation by the secession of many of the Crusaders from their martial career, who, yielding themselves up entirely to a life of religion, joined the charitable fraternity.

Under these circumstances, and actuated by a laudable desire to secure the benefits of the institution upon a broader and more permanent basis, Gerard proposed that they should organize themselves into a regularly constituted religious body, taking upon themselves the three monastic obligations of poverty, obedience, and chastity, and that they should devote the remainder of their lives to the service of the poor and sick in the newly-established kingdom of Jerusalem. This proposition on the part of the actor, coming as it did at a time when religious enthusiasm had been greatly stimulated by the success of the Christian army, was hailed with acclamation and at once acted on. The patriarch of Jerusalem received from the candidates the three religious vows, and clothed them in the habit

* This deed is still extant in "Cod. papyræ Biblioth. Vaticanæ," vol. 3, 136, page 19.

selected for the Order, which consisted of a plain black robe, bearing on the left breast a white cross with eight points. Pope Paschal II. shortly afterwards formally sanctioned the establishment of the Order by a bull published in the year 1113. By this instrument the Hospital was exempted from the payment of tithes, the endowment it had received were confirmed to it, and the privilege was conceded to its members of electing their own head whenever a vacancy should occur, without external interference either secular or ecclesiastical.

After the recovery of Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens the number of pilgrims rapidly increased, and Gerard, in his solicitude for their welfare, established branch hospitals in most of the maritime provinces of Europe. These were placed under the superintendence and management of members of the Order as offshoots of the parent institution, and formed points of departure where pilgrims could find shelter and entertainment while waiting for transport to the Holy Land.

Gerard, who had already reached a green old age, did not long survive the establishment of his institution. He died in the year 1118, and in accordance with the terms of the papal bull already mentioned, the fraternity immediately proceeded to elect his successor. Their choice fell on Raymond du Puy, a member of a noble family in Dauphiné. At this time, Baldwin II. was seated on the throne of Jerusalem. Although so short a time had elapsed since the establishment of the kingdom there had already been two changes of rulers, Godfrey, and his brother Baldwin I., who succeeded him, having both died. The kingdom at this period consisted only of certain isolated cities, with the districts in their immediate vicinity, the intervening country being still peopled and held by the

racens. Intercourse was therefore very difficult, and communication was liable to constant interruption from the predatory attacks of the infidels. Prompted by these circumstances, Raymond du Puy had no sooner assumed the reins of office than he began to devise a material alteration in the constitution of his Order. His mind, naturally of a chivalric and warlike bent, was not prepared to rest satisfied with the peaceful functions undertaken by the fraternity. He therefore proposed that whilst they still retained the obligations imposed on them by their vows they should add the further one of bearing arms in defence of their religion and in support of the new kingdom. Although this proposition was diametrically opposed to the leading principles upon which the institution had been founded—which principles had but a few years before been accepted with the utmost enthusiasm and established by acclamation—it was nevertheless received on all sides with alacrity. This change of feeling is easily accounted for. When Gerard, who was himself a man of peaceful habits and bred in an almost monastic seclusion, formed his Order on an entirely religious basis, rendering the abandonment of a warlike career a matter of course, he found plenty of ready and willing followers from amongst the ranks of the crusading army. They had passed through a period of extreme peril and hardship; they had fought their way step by step at the point of the sword, until, badly reduced in numbers, and satiated with warfare, they had at length achieved the main object for which they strove. Prostrate with the exhaustion consequent on so prolonged a struggle, and eager for repose—filled, too, at the moment with all the veneration which the remembrance of the holy ground on which they trod was calculated to inspire—it is not a matter for wonder that they embraced

with eagerness the peaceful career thus presented for the adoption, combining as it did the gratification of the religious enthusiasm with the calm and rest so grateful to their jaded senses. The lapse, however, of a few years brought about a great change in their feelings. The quietude and seclusion of a monastic life soon lost the charms which it had at first possessed; the habits of a life of excitement and warfare could not be thus suddenly suspended without gradually producing a sense of inertness and lassitude. When, therefore, their new superior, filled with the same restless cravings as themselves, sought to restore to the institution the active exercise of that profession which had been their delight, and which they had abandoned in a hasty fit of fanaticism, it is not surprising that this new proposal should have been hailed with eagerness.

The suggestions of Raymond du Puy met with the warmest approval from Baldwin. The constant warfare to which he was exposed on every side, the incessant depredations of the Saracens who surrounded him, and the necessity which consequently existed for supporting his position by force of arms, led him to receive with the utmost favour so welcome a proposition. It would bring to the support of his cause a body of men highly trained in all the chivalric exercises of the age, inflamed with religious ardour, and unfettered by any of those social ties in Europe which had drawn from him so many of his followers. Thus upheld on every side, Raymond proceeded without delay to carry his design into execution. The patriarch of Jerusalem was once more called in to give his consent, and the entire body took a fresh oath, by which they bound themselves to support the cause of Christianity against the infidel in the Holy Land to the last drop of their blood. They at the same time pledged

themselves on no pretence whatever to bear arms for any other object than the defence of their faith.

From this moment we may consider the Order of St. John of Jerusalem as permanently established on that military basis which it retained till its final dispersion from Malta. Although Gerard must be recognized as the original founder of the fraternity, it is to Raymond du Guise that the honour belongs of having been its first military Master. When we look back on the glorious achievements which through so many centuries have adorned its annals, and mark the long list of names, glorified by so many heroic deeds, which have been successively enrolled beneath its banners, we must render praise to the mind that first contemplated the establishment of a brotherhood combining within its obligations such apparently contradictory duties, and yet fulfilling its purposes with so much lasting benefit to Christianity and imperishable renown to itself.

To regulate the new administration rendered necessary by the changes which he had introduced, Raymond called together the leading members of his Hospital, who bore the name of Masters' assistants, and forming them into a chapter or council, he submitted for their revision the finances originally drawn up by Gerard. It was at this meeting that the first statutes for the governance of the Order under its new character were instituted, and these were laid before, and received the sanction of, the Pope. It may here be recorded that the original rule was lost at the capture of the city of Acre in the year 1291. Eleven years afterwards Pope Boniface VIII., at the request of the then Grand-Master, presented the Hospital with a papal bull, in which the contents of Raymond's rule were capitulated with a few trivial alterations.

One of the first steps taken by this council was to divide the Order into three classes, according to their rank and functions. The first class, which formed the aristocracy, were to be named knights of justice; the second, which constituted the strictly ecclesiastical branch, were called religious chaplains; and the third or lower class were serving brothers. It may here be observed, as regards the first class, that no one could be admitted thereto who had not already received the accolade of knighthood at secular hands. There were also religious dames of the Order. These ladies had branch establishments in France, Italy, Spain, and England; the rules for their reception were similar to those for the knights of justice, with the addition that proofs of noble descent were demanded of them. It will be seen further on that similar proofs were afterwards called for from knights of justice, but at the time of which we are now speaking nothing was required of them beyond the fact of their having been received in the ranks of secular knighthood. In addition to the above, who were regular members, there were other persons attached to the institution under the title of donats. These did not undertake the same obligations, but were employed in different offices in the convent and Hospital. In token of their connection with the Order, they wore what was called the demi-cross, with three two-pointed arms, instead of four. In after times this title was conferred on persons who had made oblations to the treasury.

The powers of government were vested in the hands of a council, presided over by the Master, and all questions connected with the well-being of the fraternity, as well as the collection and expenditure of the large and yearly increasing revenues, were submitted to its decision.

The income of the Order at this period was derived from

ded property in every part of Europe, the result of benevolent donations that had been so unsparingly bestowed. At first, these estates were farmed out to individuals totally unconnected with it, and the tenants were supposed to remit their annual rent, based on the value of the land they held, to the treasury at Jerusalem. This system was soon found extremely faulty, and, indeed, almost impracticable. The difficulty of obtaining their rights from persons having no interest in the prosperity of the fraternity, and who, on account of their distance from the seat of government, found every facility in evading their obligations, soon caused the most alarming deficits to arise. In order to remedy this evil, and to insure the punctual transmission of the rents of their numerous manors, it was determined to place over each wealthy member, who should act as steward of the funds committed to his control. Establishments (at first called preceptories, but at a later date commanderies) were founded on a scale varying with the value of the properties, and were intended to supervise, there being in many cases several members of the Order congregated together. The superintendents were taken from among the seniors, and were not confined to knights of justice, a certain number of chaplains and serving brothers being also nominated. In such cases it was not unusual to find knights of justice attached to the preceptories subordinate to them.

The object of these preceptories was not confined to the collection and transmission of revenue. They also became such establishments where postulants were professed, and the various duties carried on in a precisely similar manner as in the parent convent at Jerusalem. Periodical visits were collected, which were from time to time called

to the East to recruit the ranks constantly being thinned by war and disease. When not required for this duty, the knights were to be found rendering assistance in the warfare unceasingly waged against the Moors in Spain and in the south of Europe. Wherever the infidel was to be encountered, thither it was the duty of every true knight of St. John to hasten. They were, however, strictly forbidden, upon any pretence whatever, to interfere in the warfare between Christian princes. So long as the establishments retained the title of preceptories, the chief was called preceptor; when they changed the name to commanderies he became the commander; hence the origin of the term knight commander, which has been introduced into so many orders of chivalry. The council reserved to itself the power of recalling a preceptor from his post at any time and replacing him by another, he being merely considered the steward of the property. The right gradually fell into abeyance, and eventually a nomination to a preceptory came to be regarded practically as a permanent gift, subject only to the payment of a fixed annual tribute to the public treasury under the title of responsions.

Strong prohibitions were issued against the use of ornaments or devices in either the dress or arms of the brotherhood beyond the symbol of the Order, the eight-pointed Cross. This restriction was considered necessary in the eyes of their founder, owing to the increasing taste for splendour which was creeping into the habits of the epoch. When the first germs of the chivalric idea began to show themselves, and to replace the barbarism which had overthrown the Roman empire, the simplicity of the age had limited the construction of arms strictly to the purposes for which they were required, and nothing

the way of ornament seems to have suggested itself. As, however, time wore on, and brought with it a steady advance in civilization and luxury, new ideas became prevalent. Whereas, in the earlier ages, duty to his religion and to his country were the only obligations imposed on a knight, by degrees another element was introduced, and lady-love was eventually heard of as the noblest incentive to the chivalric mind. So inseparably did this feeling become connected with the after character of the system that it may be looked upon as its mainspring. Every true knight considered that the most daring act of gallantry was amply rewarded by the approving smile of his lady-love. Bearing on his person the favoured colours of his mistress, he carried them wherever peril was to be braved and honour won.

Under these circumstances it was but natural that the simplicity which had characterized preceding times should give way to the introduction of personal adornment. Armour came to be constructed no longer with a view solely to its use, but ornamentation, more or less elaborate, was rapidly introduced. The insignia of heraldry date their origin from this new sentiment, and each succeeding generation outvied its predecessor in the splendour of its equipment. At the time the Order of St. John adopted a military basis—*i.e.*, in the early part of the twelfth century—this innovation had not reached any great height; but it had, however, so far won its way that Raymond du Puy thought it advisable to make a special regulation against the introduction into his fraternity. No decoration of any kind was permitted on any portion of the armour, with the sole exception of the Cross, and this was only to be borne on the pennon, the surcoat, and the shield.

The precise date at which all these changes in the con-

stitution of the Order took place is more or less a matter of uncertainty; the weight of evidence seems, however, to be in favour of from 1118 to 1120. At this time, in addition to the kingdom of Jerusalem, the Latins held several other detached principalities, which formed the weaknesses of that exposed and harassed monarchy. Such were the counties of Edessa and Tripoli, and the principality of Antioch. These, though independent governments in themselves, were more or less under the influence of, and in alliance with, the central kingdom. Indeed, situated as they were, surrounded by enemies, and liable to constant attack on every side from vastly superior forces, they could not have existed for many months had there not been the strongest bond of union between them. As, therefore, it was well understood that the support of each was absolutely necessary for the safety of all, an attack was sooner menaced in any one quarter than speedy help was despatched from the others. In all these struggles the knights of St. John bore their share, as is fully testified by the historians of the period. Indeed, but for their assistance, the king of Jerusalem would have found it impossible to maintain himself against the ever-increasing pressure from without. This was so fully recognized that Pope Innocent II., in the year 1130, issued a bull, in which he records in glowing terms the opinion entertained of their services throughout Europe.

It was about this time that a fraternity very similar to that of St. John sprang into existence. The duties of the Hospitallers, though in many ways attractive to the chivalric temper of the times, partook somewhat too much of the sedate occupations of the monk to be generally pleasing. It must be remembered that, though constantly engaged in warfare, all their spare time was still devoted

the nursing duties of their Hospital, which indeed even now practically remained their most constant occupation. His portion of their work did not commend itself to many of the more youthful aspirants. To devote his life to the protection of the Holy Land, and whilst engaged in that sacred duty to impose upon himself the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, this was the desire of many a young and enthusiastic mind ; but he did not feel equally disposed to undertake those Hospitaller duties which would fall to his lot were he to assume the White Cross of St. John.

Under the influence of these feelings a body of nine French knights, with Hugh de Payens at their head, joined themselves together, with the object of forming an escort to the numerous bands of pilgrims who were annually resorting to the shores of Palestine. They were at first under no religious restrictions, and had no distinct rules laid down for their guidance, their duties being entirely voluntary. The king of Jerusalem gave them as a residence a portion of his palace adjacent to the temple of Solomon ; hence arose their name of Knights of the Temple, or, as they were usually called, Knights Templar. Hugh de Payens, having been sent by the king to solicit assistance from the Pope in the form of a new crusade, took that opportunity of presenting his companions. He explained the objects of their association, and requested permission of his Holiness to establish a new religious and military Order. The Pope referred him to the council of Troyes, then in conclave, which, after due investigation, gave its decided approval to the project in the year 1128. Fortified with this sanction, Hugh de Payens traversed the greater part of Europe in search of candidates for his new Order, and eventually returned to

Palestine with a body of three hundred young and ardent spirits, selected from the flower of the chivalry of Europe. Here they received every assistance from Raymond and his Hospitallers. For a long time, until donations began to pour into their own coffers, they were almost entirely maintained by the latter, who took them under their protection. By degrees, however, the benefactions of the charitable, and the increase of their numbers, placed them on a footing of equality with the elder institution.

In giving his sanction to the formation of this fraternity the Pope directed that they should wear a white robe with a red cross, in contradistinction to the black robe and white cross of the Hospitallers. They were consequently generally known as, respectively, Red Cross and White Cross knights. Although they did not undertake any charitable duties similar to those of the Order of St. John, their regulations for the maintenance of their monastic vows were even more severe. In order to prevent any temptation to a transgression of the vow of chastity, it was decreed that they were on no account even to look on the face of a fair woman, and, as a still further precaution, they were forbidden to kiss even their own mothers.

At about the same time another body, which in its original institution was of far greater antiquity than even the Hospitallers, also became military; and this was the Order of St. Lazarus. The old writers date the origin of this association as far back as the first century, but the earliest period to which it can really be traced is the year 370. At that time a large hospital was established in the suburbs of Cæsarea, under the auspices of St. Basil, for the reception and treatment of lepers. The laws and customs of the East bore with frightful severity on those afflicted with this loathsome disease. They were entirely cut off

om all intercourse with their friends or the world at large; the establishment, therefore, of a hospital for their reception was hailed as a general boon. The Emperor Valens, as recorded by Theodoret, enriched it with all the lands which he held in the province where it was founded. This charity proved of such great utility that similar institutions soon sprang up in various other parts of the East, and as they all took St. Lazarus for their tutelary saint, they became generally known as Lazarets. One of these hospitals was in existence in Jerusalem at its capture by the Christians. In addition to its charitable organization it was also a religious Order, following the rule of St. Augustine. When, however, the conversion of the Hospitallers into a military fraternity, followed as it was by the establishment of the Templars on a similar footing, set the example of combining the warlike duties of the knight with the asceticism of the monk, the members of the Order of St. Lazarus took the same step. For this purpose, they divided themselves into two separate bodies, viz., lepers and non-lepers; the former, from amongst whom the Grand-Master was always selected, carried on the duties of the hospital. The others being in a condition to bear arms, joined the general Christian forces in repelling the inroads of the infidels. Their precise habit has not been recorded, but they wore a green cross. In spite of these bulwarks, which were gradually arising for the support of the kingdom, the position of the Latin power in the East became year by year more precarious, and the strength of the infidels by whom it was surrounded readily augmented. The first severe blow was the loss of Edessa. That city was captured by Zenghi, sultan of Mosul and Aleppo, at that time the most powerful of the Eastern potentates. The prince of Edessa was a man

utterly devoid of warlike qualities. Plunged into a course of reckless dissipation, and a mere tool in the hands of worthless favourites, he saw his capital torn from his grasp without an effort to save it. Nothing but the death of Zenghi, who was at that critical moment assassinated in his tent, prevented the loss of the remainder of his dominions. The capture of this important post caused the utmost dismay throughout Palestine. Standing on the extreme eastern frontier, on the very confines of the desert, it had served as a most valuable outwork, keeping the Saracens at a distance from the centre of the kingdom and its chief city Jerusalem. The immediate outcome of this calamity was a new Crusade, preached by Bernard, the saintly abbot of Clairvaux, and headed by Louis VII. of France, and Conrad III., the emperor of Germany, in the year 1147. This expedition led to no important result, although it was continued for two years, and carried out at a sacrifice of no less than 150,000 lives.

In the commencement of the year 1154 Baldwin II. the king of Jerusalem, anxious once more to resume the offensive, turned his eyes on the Saracen fortress of Ascalon. This town, which was justly considered by the Turks one of their most important strongholds, was situated on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, in much the same latitude as Jerusalem. Its fortification consisting of a high rampart flanked at short intervals by lofty towers, formed a semi-circle enclosing the town, the sea line completing the circuit. It had always been guarded most zealously by its possessors. All its male inhabitants were thoroughly trained in the exercises of war, and that there might be no danger of treachery on their part, the caliph had granted them numerous privileges and indulgences not enjoyed by any other city in

the East. Baldwin, however, was undeterred either by the strength of the place or the number and discipline of its garrison. Having been reinforced by the accession of a large number of pilgrims from Europe, and by strong detachments of the military Orders, he sat down before the walls. Gerard, the lord of Sidon, with fifteen small galleys, was to hold possession of the sea, and intercept the passage of supplies to the beleaguered city.

For five months the siege was carried on with the most vigour. The Christians, harassed by constant sorties on the part of the garrison, gained ground but slowly. Every step was purchased by a fearful expenditure of life, not an inch being yielded by the Saracens without a desperate resistance. At last, however, having overcome all the obstacles which the ingenuity of the defence had placed in their way, they reached the foot of the rampart. At this critical moment, a powerful hostile fleet, laden with reinforcements and provisions, appeared in sight. Gerard of Sidon had no alternative but to retire with his few ships in all haste, and the sovereignty of the seas was consequently left in undisputed possession of the enemy. This sudden and unlooked-for check spread the utmost dismay throughout the Christian camp. A council of war was at once summoned, in which the propriety of raising the siege was advocated by the majority of those present. The leaders of the military Orders, supported by the patriarch of Jerusalem and some of the other clergy, took, however, a contrary view. They urged strongly on the king the necessity of prosecuting the siege, assuring him that retreat would have such a disastrous effect on his forces, and would so raise the spirits of the infidels, that he would be unable to resist a hostile advance

which would probably culminate in an attack on Jerusalem.

These arguments coincided with the views held by the Grand-Master; so he decided, in spite of the adverse opinion of the majority, to continue the enterprise. He so aroused the spirit of all present by his bold counsels that even those who had been most forward in advocating a retreat now became enthusiastic converts to his wishes. The Templars constructed a lofty tower on wheels, which they advanced close to the walls of the town, from the top of which a drawbridge could be lowered at will to span the intervening space. In the course of the night the Templars threw down a quantity of dry wood and other combustible matter, which they ignited with a view to the destruction of the tower. A strong east wind, however, set in, and the flames were blown on to the wall of the town. This wall was so much calcined by the action of the fire that in the morning it was easy to form a practicable breach. In the meantime time was lost. The Grand-Master of the Templars at once directed a body of his knights to deliver an assault, which was attended with complete success. The assailants had not so soon made their appearance through the breach than the garrison fled precipitately. The Templars promptly advanced into the heart of the town, and had they been supported its fall must have ensued. Unfortunately, the grasping disposition of their Grand-Master ruined the enterprise. Instead of sending for immediate reinforcements, he actually mounted the breach with the rest of his knights, and there kept guard to prevent any other troops from entering the town, trusting thus to secure its entire pillage for the benefit of his Order. The result was what might have been foreseen. The garrison not being followed up, soon recovered from their panic. Perceiving

the slender strength of the enemy who had penetrated within the city, they returned to the attack, drove the templars back to the point at which they had effected their entrance, and thence through the breach. Having cleared the place, they proceeded to secure themselves from further assaults by retrenchments and barricades.

The garrison were so elated at the success with which this formidable attack had been repelled, that, strengthened as they were by the reinforcements which had arrived with their fleet, they determined on assuming the offensive. In the following morning they sallied forth in great strength, trusting to deliver such a blow as should compel the Christians to raise the siege. The action lasted the entire day, with varying success. The Templars, anxious to atone for their previous misconduct, threw themselves against the enemy with the most reckless impetuosity, and were ably supported by Baldwin and the Hospitallers. At length the Saracens gave way, and, being closely pressed, the retreat was speedily converted into a total rout; a large proportion of the garrison fell, and the remainder regained the shelter of their walls. On the following day they offered terms of capitulation, which having been accepted, Baldwin entered the town on the 24th August, 1154.

This conquest had a most beneficial effect on the position of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Instead of the constant alarms and incursions from which they had formerly suffered whilst Ascalon was in the hands of the Turks, their frontier was now comparatively secure. As new holders, supported as they were by the garrisons of Beersheba and Gaza, the former held by the Hospitallers and the latter by the Templars, were able to drive back the Moslems into the heart of Egypt. The

greatest joy was displayed throughout Europe at the timely acquisition, the glory of which was by universal consent awarded to the Knights of St. John and their chief, Raymond, who, when it had been proposed to abandon the siege in despair, had persistently urged its prosecution. Pope Anastasius IV. was so strongly impressed in their favour on the occasion that he issued a new bull confirming and extending the privileges which his predecessors had already granted.

The publication of this bull created the greatest jealousy amongst the regular clergy of Palestine, who could not brook the exemption from all ecclesiastical supervision thus conceded. Numerous complaints of the arrogance and malpractices of the fraternity, some of which were doubtless true enough, but others simply jealous fabrications, were forwarded to the papal chair. Amongst other grievances, it was specified that the church of St. John exceeded in splendour that of the Holy Sepulchre, to which it was in close proximity, and that the bells of the former were rung with violence whilst service was being conducted in the latter, to the great annoyance and interruption of the congregation. Other complaints of a similar character, and framed in the same spirit, were made. The Pope decided against the appellants, and confirmed the privileges of the Order, thus stigmatizing as vexatious the opposition that had been raised against them. This was the first time that any dispute had arisen between the Hospitallers and the regular clergy; but having once been started they soon became almost chronic, and the reader of the histories of those times has to wade through long dissertations on both sides, in which the most trivial matters are made to bear a malicious and invidious interpretation. This discord embittered the last days of

ymond du Puy. He had lived long enough to see his order settled on a permanent basis, honoured and respected throughout Europe, wealthy and powerful from the endowments it had received, and increasing annually in numbers. At this time there was scarcely a noble house in Europe which did not send one or more of its members to bear the White Cross on his breast, the aristocratic connections thus formed tending much to increase the high estimation in which the fraternity was held. At length, in the year 1160, Raymond died. He had attained the age of eighty years, of which sixty had been spent in constant warfare. Nothing seemed to affect his iron constitution, and he led an apparently charmed life through innumerable vicissitudes of danger. He breathed his last in the Hospital of St. John, at Jerusalem, whither he had retired to meet his end in peace. History has recorded nothing but good of his character. A true type of the Christian soldier and the gentleman, he lived to see his every ambition fulfilled, and the Order on which all his hopes had been centred taking a leading place amidst the chivalry of Europe.

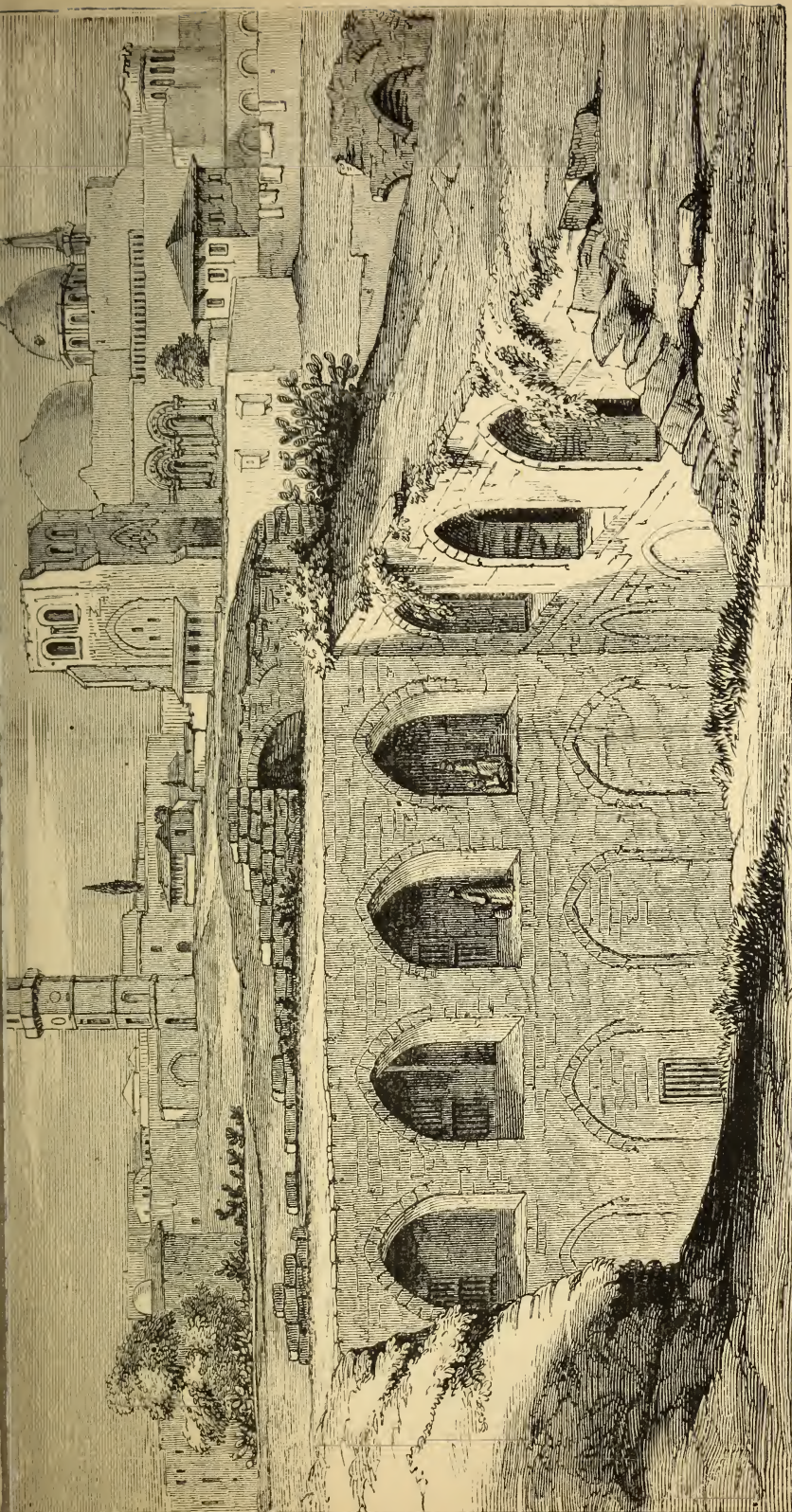
It was during his lengthened rule that the magnificent edifice forming the new Hospital and convent was erected. The precise date of the work is uncertain, but it was probably between the years 1130 and 1150. Recent explorations have largely cleared up the difficulties which, till lately, rendered it almost impossible to define what were the actual limits of the establishment. The following description may be taken as correct, so far as sites are concerned, very few of the actual remains having been, yet, uncovered.

To the south of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, there is a plot of ground nearly square, about five hundred feet

a side, which is bounded on the north by what was formerly the Street of Palmers, now known as the Via Dolorosa; on the west by Patriarch Street, now Christian Street; on the south by Temple Street, now David Street and on the east by the Malquisinat or Bazaar. Within this area stood the later buildings of the Order. North of the Street of Palmers, and to the east of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, stood the churches and hospitals of St. Mary ad Latinos and St. Mary Magdalene, also St. Mary ad Latinos; the original establishments of the Amalfi merchants. No traces of these are now to be found. To the south of the Street of Palmers, in the western angle of the square already defined, stood the church of St. John Eleemon and its hospice.

Such was the institution as it existed prior to the formation of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099. Between that time and the middle of the succeeding century, the Order, under Raymond du Puy, had developed the church of St. John Eleemon into a fine building, the conventual church of St. John the Baptist.* On the east of this they had erected another large church, called Sta. Maria Major, with a monastic quadrangle to the south of it; and along the south of the whole square, looking towards Temple Street, ran the noble Hospital of St. John. When Jerusalem reverted to the possession of the Saracens the church was by them converted into a madhouse (in Turkish, Muristân); hence the whole space has since been known by that name. In the year 1869, the eastern half

* In the south-west corner of the site still stands an old Byzantine basilica of St. John the Baptist, earlier than any other known building in the area. Capt. Conder, R.E., suggests that possibly this was the original church of St. John Eleemon, and that the conventual church of St. John the Baptist, referred to above, was not an enlargement of it, but a separate structure.



VIEW OF PART OF THE MURISTÂN, FORMING THE QUADRANGLE OF THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERY BEHIND THE CHURCH OF STA. MARIA
MAJOR, AS IT APPEARED BEFORE THE EXCAVATIONS WERE COMMENCED BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

[To face page 33.]

which stood the church of Sta. Maria Major, the monastic quadrangle, and a portion of the Hospital, was given by the Sultan to the crown prince of Prussia. This part of the Muristân has since then been excavated, and the ruins of the old buildings laid bare. The most conspicuous and interesting feature in the space is the gateway of St. John. It consists of a large round arch, comprising two smaller arches within it. A few remains only of the latter now exist. The spandril between the two was formerly adorned with sculpture, now nearly all gone. These arches rest at one side on a central pillar, and at the other on an entablature reaching from the wall side columns of the portal. The main arch rests on a buttress adjoining the portal. Around this runs a broad sculptured frieze, representing the twelve months. Above, in the centre, is the sun, represented by a half figure, holding a disc over its head. Near it is the moon, a female figure with a crescent. The cornice above is adorned with medallions, representing leaves, griffins, &c.* Passing through this gateway the visitor would enter the north side of the church of Sta. Maria Major, which consists of a nave and two aisles terminating in three apses at the east. In its greatest length it extends to 100 feet, and is about 65 feet in breadth. It is, of course, roofless, and only portions of the columns are to be seen. The aisles were separated from the nave by four arches carried on three clustered columns on each side. Behind the church, on the south, is a vaulted quadrangle, evidently the monastic establishment, and on the north side of the quadrangle was the refectory, now used as a German Lutheran chapel. South again of this the

This description of the gateway is taken from Baedeker's, *Palæstine and Syria*."

excavations have laid bare a number of piers and columns which were no doubt a portion of the Hospital. It is thus described by Mandeville in 1322 :—" Before
" church of the Sepulchre, 200 paces to the south, is
" great Hospital of St. John, of which the Hospitallers have
" their foundation. And within the palace of the sick men
" of that Hospital are 124 pillars of stone ; and in the walls
" of the house besides the number aforesaid there are fifty
" four pillars that support the house. From that Hospital
" going towards the east, is a very fine church, which
" called Our Lady the Great, and after it there is another
" church very near called Our Lady the Latin, and there
" stood Mary Cleophas and Mary Magdalene, and there tore the
" hair when our Lord was executed on the cross."

Such is the present state of these most interesting ruins, and it is to be hoped that when the western half of Muristân (still in possession of the Turks) is excavated, many valuable remains both of the Hospital and of the original church of St. John will be laid bare.

CHAPTER II.

1160—1291.

Expedition into Egypt and death of D'Ascali—Rise of Saladin—Dissensions in the kingdom—Battle of Tiberias—Loss of Jerusalem—Its main causes—Establishment of the Hospital at Margat—Retirement of the ladies of the Order to Europe—The third Crusade—Siege and capture of Acre—Alfonso of Portugal—Dissensions between the Hospitallers and Templars—Andrew, king of Hungary, admitted into the Order—Fifth Crusade—Its failure—Coronation of the emperor Frederic at Jerusalem—The Korasmins—Battle of Gaza—Reforms in the Order—Crusades of St. Louis—Sanguinary combat between the Hospitallers and Templars—Loss of Margat—Siege and fall of Acre.

The rule of the two Masters who succeeded Raymond du Guais was short and uneventful; and in the year 1168 the fortunate Gilbert D'Ascali was appointed fourth holder of the office. Soon afterwards Almeric, the new king of Jerusalem, brother of Baldwin III., suggested the advisability of an expedition against the caliph of Egypt. The propriety of joining with the king in this enterprise was warmly debated in the council of the Order of St. John. The caliph had but lately entered into a treaty of peace with the Christians, by which he had bound himself to pay them an annual tribute. This treaty had so far been scrupulously observed by him; it was therefore argued by

many that they were not justified in waging war against him. D'Ascali, notwithstanding, strenuously supported the undertaking, and his detractors assert that his object in doing so was to replenish by the spoils of Egypt the treasury of the Order, which he had much reduced by extravagance. The majority of the council supported the views of the Master, and he was authorized to raise money by loans from the bankers of Genoa and Venice. With this assistance the Hospitallers enrolled a large auxiliary force of mercenaries, and took the field with an army far more numerous than on any former occasion. The Templars, on the other hand, declined to lend any aid to Almeric, grounding their refusal on the injustice and impolicy of the attempt.

The result of the expedition proved the wisdom of the decision. After a brief success, and the capture of Belbeis, Almeric laid siege to Cairo. Before, however, he had succeeded in making himself master of the place, Noureddin, the Turcoman leader, who had been summoned by the caliph to his aid, advanced in overwhelming strength, and succeeded in joining his forces with those of the Egyptians. Under these circumstances nothing was left but to effect a rapid retreat, and to abandon the recently acquired post of Belbeis. Thus ended this ill-fated expedition. That it was unprovoked in the outset and consequently unjustifiable, cannot be denied; and that, starting with a breach of faith, it deserved no better fate, is true. It would, however, had it been successful, have tended much to strengthen the feeble kingdom. As it was, the Christians gained nothing but obloquy, and brought down on themselves an enemy who eventually compassed their complete overthrow. The friends of Almeric endeavoured to screen his share of the transaction.

throwing the entire blame on the Master of St. John ; Gilbert, on his return to Jerusalem, found himself attacked on all sides. His proud spirit sank under the blow, and in a fit of despair he resigned his Mastership, and left the Holy Land. Shortly afterwards he was drowned whilst crossing from France to England, from which fact it has been assumed that he was an Englishman. This seems the more probable, as the name Ascali, or De Saily, is of Norman origin, and might well have been borne by an English knight at that period.

On his resignation he was succeeded by Gastus, who, to the stereotyped expression of the chroniclers, has left no other record of himself than his name. Joubert, the 14th Master, was elected on the death of Gastus, in the year 1169. Great changes were now taking place in the countries surrounding Judæa. The army which had been sent to the caliph of Egypt was commanded by Siracon, whose nephew, Saladin, accompanied him into Egypt. Noureddin's design in this act was not simply to aid in expelling the Christians from the country. He had given Siracon private instructions that after he had carried out that object, he should take advantage of any favourable opportunity to seize upon its government himself. These instructions were carried out. Siracon deposed the caliph, and seated himself on the throne. His triumph was, however, very brief, as he died almost immediately afterwards. His nephew, Saladin, in his turn, assumed the reins of government, and to make himself secure, strangled the late caliph. Noureddin having also died at about the same period, Saladin married his widow, and thus became not only ruler of Egypt, but also of all the territories formerly governed by him.

Almeric died in the year 1174, and was succeeded by his son, Baldwin IV., who was afflicted with leprosy. the following year that prince endeavoured to establish a frontier fortress on the banks of the Jordan, within the limits of Saladin's dominion. Saladin at once advanced to oppose the Christians, and, having skilfully lured them into an ambush, fell upon them whilst entangled in a defile, and completely routed their army. In this disastrous affair the Hospitallers were nearly cut to pieces; their Master, Joubert, being covered with wounds, and saving his life only by swimming his horse across the Jordan. His end, which occurred in the year 1179, has been differently recorded. Some say that he died of grief owing to the troubles which year by year were falling with increasing force upon the kingdom; the general opinion, however, is that he was murdered, having been starved to death in prison, after falling into the hands of one of the Saracen generals.

The vacancy was filled by the election of Roger Desmoulins. On his accession he found the Christian territories threatened from without by a powerful enemy, and at the same time torn and divided by internal discord. A truce had been concluded with Saladin, but it was merely temporary, and it was clear that when war once more broke out the Christians would be quite unable to present a successful resistance to the infidels. They decided, therefore, upon sending an embassy to Europe to solicit the aid of the third Crusade, and for this purpose selected Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Masters of the Hospital and Temple. Shortly after their arrival in Europe the latter dignitary died, leaving Heraclius and Desmoulins to carry out the embassy unaided. They visited the court of Philip II. of France, and Henry II. of England,

all as that of Pope Lucius III., but without much practical success. A Crusade was, indeed, preached, but with such lukewarmness that it proved futile; and the disappointed envoys were compelled to return to the East without having secured any efficient aid. Here they found that the disease with which Baldwin was afflicted had so far overcome him that he had become incapable of carrying on the functions of government. He had, in consequence, associated with himself Guy de Lusignan, a French knight, who had married his sister Sabilla, the widow of the marquis of Montferrat. At his death, which occurred shortly afterwards, Guy and Sabilla were, after some opposition, proclaimed king and queen.

Whilst the kingdom was in this disorganized state, Saladin took the opportunity of laying siege to Acre. A reinforcement of the military Orders had been thrown into the town, commanded by their respective Masters. Desmoulins, to avoid being blockaded, collected his Hospitallers, and, supported by a body of the inhabitants, sallied forth under cover of night, leaving the Templars to hold the town. The Saracens, taken by surprise, at first gave way in a panic, and were slaughtered in large numbers. As day broke, however, Saladin was enabled to rally his forces, and a desperate battle ensued without any decisive advantage on either side, but he was in consequence compelled to raise the siege. This success was dearly purchased, chief amongst the slain being Roger Desmoulins himself. As the country was in a state of active warfare, the council lost no time in electing his successor, their choice falling on Garnier de Napoli, who thus became eighth Master of the Order.

Saladin, foiled in his attempt on Acre, had turned his arms against Tiberias, a city of which Raymond, count of

Tripoli, was lord in right of his wife. On hearing of the attack, Raymond magnanimously advised the king to leave the city to its fate, urging him to take up a strictly defensive line of action. He pointed out that the Saracen army could not long maintain itself in the district, owing to the scarcity of water. Other and less sagacious counsel unfortunately prevailed; and the king, collecting all his available forces, marched in the direction of Tiberias, determined to stake everything on the issue of a single battle. Evil and ill-judged advice was taken in connection with every step. A spot was selected for encampment which the total absence of water soon rendered untenable. Finding it impossible to remain where he was, Lusignan advanced into the plain of Tiberias to give battle to the enemy.

The most powerful efforts were made by the ecclesiastics who accompanied the army to arouse the enthusiasm of the soldiery. The piece of the true cross, which had been so long preserved at Jerusalem for the veneration of the pious, had been brought with them and intrusted to the special guardianship of the military Orders. It was on this eventful occasion planted on an eminence, where throughout the day it served as a rallying point to the Christians. The main reason which had decided the king to give battle being the want of water, his first efforts were directed to supply the deficiency. The lake of Tiberias, at a distance of two miles, lay glittering in the sunshine in rear of the Saracens, and between it and the Christians, now parched with thirst, were drawn up the dense masses with which Saladin was prepared to resist their advance. In the van of the army stood the forces of the Hospital and Temple, ready at the appointed signal to rush at the foe, and hew a pathway to the much longed-for water. When the desired moment arrived, on they dashed

and were at once lost to view in the mass of opponents by whom they were surrounded. Whatever may have been their defects, or even vices, cowardice was certainly not often alleged against the brethren of either Order. On this important field, with the fate of Christian dominion in the East depending on their success, they strove with generous rivalry to outvie each other. Side by side these mailed warriors of the Church hurled themselves on the infidel, and the fierce war-cry of the Temple, rising high above the din of battle, was mingled in gallant unison with that of the Hospital.

All, however, was in vain. The numbers of the enemy were too vast for even their heroism to overcome, and all, as the Saracens were, by a general of such ability as Saladin, those numbers were used to the greatest possible advantage. As the day wore on, the impetuosity of the Christian attack abated, and the stubbornness of their resistance became less determined, until at length, broken, crushed, and exhausted, they gave way. Saladin pressed his victory to the utmost; allowing the retreating army no breathing time, he poured his forces on their shattered columns and utterly completed their overthrow. This disastrous fight sealed the fate of the kingdom. Guy had staked everything on the issue of a single field, and the hazard of the die had gone against him. Saladin was not only master of the day, but the way to Jerusalem lay open and unopposed to his advance. The king, the Grand-master of the Temple, and several other lords of note, fell into his hands, whilst Garnier, the Master of the Hospital, whose valour throughout the day had been worthy of his exalted post, met the end of a true soldier of the Cross, having been so desperately wounded that he only survived to reach Ascalon, where he died.

The loss of the Hospitallers was enormous. In addition to those who fell on the field, such as were taken prisoner were massacred by order of Saladin, who gave them the option of apostasy or death, they, like true Christian knights, unanimously selecting the latter alternative. The few remaining members of the Order at the *chêf-lieu*, as soon as the news of the issue of the battle and the death of Garnier had reached them, assembled, with a feeling well-nigh of despair, to elect, as it seemed to them, most probably their last Master. With some difficulty they persuaded Ermengard Daps, on whom their choice had fallen, to accept the onerous post. This duty accomplished they prepared to meet their fate in the hopeless struggle which was now imminent. Saladin lost no time in securing the fruits of his victory. The various fortresses on his route, denuded, as they were, of their ordinary garrison fell an easy prey, and no opposition being offered to his advance, he soon appeared in front of Jerusalem. The siege lasted only fourteen days, and ended in the capitulation of the city in October, 1187.

Saladin, in the hour of his triumph, acted with a generosity hardly to have been anticipated from his previous conduct. He allowed the military, the nobles, and all who had borne arms, to proceed to Tyre, and fixed the ransom of the civil population at the rate of ten crowns per man. In many instances, at the supplication of the queen, he was induced to forego the demand of this ransom and the Hospitallers freely lavished what remained in the already nearly exhausted treasury to purchase the liberty of others, so that the number of those who were eventually doomed to slavery was comparatively small. He also permitted ten of the fraternity of the Hospital, in consideration of their charitable functions, to remain for

limited period within the city to complete the cure of those sick who were under their charge, and not in a state to undergo immediate removal.

Thus, after having been at great sacrifice rescued from the domination of the Turk, and having continued for eighty-eight years to be the seat of government of a Christian kingdom, Jerusalem once more returned into their hands. The crescent again waved over the ramparts where the rival banners of the Hospital and Temple had for so long fanned the breeze, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre became a Mahometan mosque. Was it for this that Peter the Hermit had in the preceding century thundered forth his denunciations against the infidel? Was it for this that Europe had poured forth her countless hosts to whiten the shores of Palestine with their bones? Was it for this that generations of zealous devotees had consecrated their swords and their lives to the preservation of that precious conquest? It was, alas! too true. Europe had looked supinely on whilst the web of destruction was being slowly, but surely, woven round the sacred province; and now, when it was too late, when all was lost, a cry of indignation and vengeance arose on every side.

It may be well to pause for a moment and analyse the causes which led to so speedy a decline and fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. These were, on the one hand, the increase and concentration of the power of the Moslem, and, on the other, the decadence and disunion of that of the Christians. When first the Crusaders established themselves on the shores of Palestine, they found the enemy divided into factions, and combating as to certain disputed tenets of their faith with a rancour and animosity such as only religious warfare could excite. Either party was generally ready to coalesce with the new comers to

insure the overthrow of its rivals; the Christians, therefore, in most of their earlier campaigns, were able to reckon for aid on one or other of them. As, however, the power of the Turcomans gradually consolidated itself, and opposing pretensions were eventually concentrated in the person of a single leader, the position of the Latins became more and more precarious. The troops which the Saracens brought into the field had also greatly improved in discipline during this period. The lessons taught by the European opponents were not thrown away, and the Saracens eventually became but little inferior in prowess and skill whilst always remaining vastly superior in numbers.

On the side of the Christians may be traced much an ever increasing disunion. Instead of that firm and unflinching alliance between the various principalities, which constituted their only chance of safety, they were prepared at every trivial quarrel and petty jealousy to jeopardize the existence of the kingdom. We have already touched upon the dispute between the Hospitallers and the regular clergy. In addition to this, jealousies had latterly sprung up between the military Orders themselves, which in time led to very serious results. Instead of confining their rivalry to a friendly emulation on the battle-field, they often became more intent on thwarting and impeding each other than on opposing the Saracens. These were all so many contributory causes to the final catastrophe.

Jerusalem having fallen, and the knights being thus deprived of a home, they betook themselves, greatly diminished as they were in numbers, and with an exhausted treasury, to Margat, a town which still remained in the hands of the Christians. Here they established their convent and Hospital, and, as far as their reduced exchequer permitted, continued to carry on those charitable

cities which, during the most stirring times of war, had never been permitted to suffer neglect. The ladies of the Order, unequal to cope with the hardships consequent on a further residence in the East, abandoned the Holy Land, and divided themselves between their various branch establishments in Europe. Amongst other places, they were possessed of a very extensive settlement at Bucklands, in Somersetshire, the gift of Henry II. to the hospital, in the year 1180, and hither came a great number of the wandering sisterhood. The Queen of Aragon had also shortly before erected a noble establishment for the ladies of St. John, at the village of Sixenne, near Saragossa. This also threw open its hospitable doors for the reception of all who sought its shelter. Here these pious devotees passed the remainder of their lives in the strictest seclusion, mourning the loss of their home, and bewailing the fate of those heroes who now lay mouldering beneath the sandy plains of Palestine.

The capture of Jerusalem so far aroused the indignation of Europe, that it led to what is known as the third Crusade. This expedition, on arrival in Palestine, found Guy de Lusignan engaged in the siege of Acre. That city, the Ptolemais of the Romans, was the most important maritime post on the coast of Syria, and had opened its gates to the Saracen army, without resistance, after the disastrous conflict of Tiberias. For three years did the Crusaders besiege the town, the defence being maintained throughout that interval with the most unflinching obstinacy. During the latter part of the time, the attack was led on by Richard of England himself, and eventually his efforts were crowned with success, the place being forced to surrender.

Hither, as soon as tranquillity was in some degree

restored, the Hospitallers removed their convent from Margat, and it was in their new establishment in the city that Ermengard Daps died, in the year 1192. The siege of Acre is notable for the formation of a fourth military Order which, during its progress, was called into existence. This fraternity received the name of the Teutonic Order, and was composed exclusively of Germans. They wore a white mantle, with a black cross embroidered in gold, and their rules were very similar to those of the Templars.

The capture of Acre led to no further successes on the part of the Crusaders. Some of its leaders had already returned to Europe, and the termination of the siege led to the departure of many of the remainder. Richard was at length, much against his will, driven to conclude a truce with Saladin, and to abandon the cause in which he had reaped so much personal distinction.

The chronology of those times is so very obscure, that it is impossible to trace with accuracy the dates at which each change of Master took place. None of the fraternities at this early period seem to have undertaken the task of chronicling the deeds of their companions in arms; we are, therefore, totally dependent on the writers who have treated generally of the fortunes of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the numerous Crusades by which it was from time to time supported. The military Orders are only cursorily mentioned, and the most confusing contradictions in names and dates constantly occur. Godfrey de Duisson, who had succeeded Ermengard Daps, died about the year 1194, and was succeeded by Alfonso of Portugal. This knight claimed to belong to the royal family of that kingdom. The inscription on his tomb, which was erected by himself during his lifetime, ran

us: "Alfonso, Master of the Holy Hospital of Jerusalem, son of the king of Portugal, &c. &c." As, however, the history of Portugal makes no mention of such a scion of the royal family, it is probable that the honour was tainted by the bar sinister. His rule was but brief. He had no sooner assumed office than he began to introduce a rigid reform into the discipline of the Order. In this endeavour he met with the most vehement opposition from the council, and open rebellion soon succeeded to remonstrance. Disgusted at the failure of his attempt, and cowed by the storm of opposition he had evoked, he resigned his office, abandoned the Holy Land, and retired to Portugal, where he shortly afterwards fell in an engagement during one of the civil wars of that country.

Numerous efforts were made by the powers of Western Europe to recover some of the lost ground in Palestine during the first half of the thirteenth century. Had these been properly directed, they would probably have proved successful. Wave after wave of attack surged on the shores of Palestine, only to recede again, rather through the ignorance and impatience of the leaders than the resisting power of the infidel. Whilst these desultory struggles were being carried on, the dissensions between the Orders of the Hospital and Temple, after smouldering for a long time with ill-disguised virulence, eventually burst forth into open hostility. There had for many years existed a deep feeling of jealousy between these fraternities, rendered the more rancorous on the part of the templars from a sense of inferiority in wealth and territorial possessions. Matthew Paris, a historian of that epoch, estimates the property of the Hospital, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, at 19,000 manors,

whilst that of the Temple at the same period was on 9,000. The term manor in those days signified the extent of land that could be tilled by one yoke of oxen. This great difference in point of wealth, marking the superior estimation in which the Hospitallers were held throughout Europe, naturally excited the jealousy of the rivals, which at last found vent in open warfare.

In the neighbourhood of the town of Margat stood a castle, the property of a knight called Robert of Margat. He held the place as a vassal of the Hospitallers, and acknowledged them as his feudal lords. To this castle the Templars laid claim, and, supporting their pretensions by force, seized the disputed property. Robert de Margat at once claimed the protection of his lords. These latter incensed at the outrage, mustered their forces, and retaken the castle by storm. From this moment open warfare broke out between the Orders. Alarmed at the injury likely to accrue from this ill-timed antagonism on the part of those who were the most powerful defenders of the kingdom, the patriarch appealed to the Pope to interfere in the dispute. That potentate decreed that the Hospitallers should retire from the disputed property, leaving it in the possession of the Templars, who in their turn were to restore it to Robert de Margat. In this manner a temporary truce was patched up between the rival factions.

John of Brienne had meanwhile become king of Jerusalem, in virtue of his wife, and he implored the Pope for assistance at this critical juncture to enable him to recover his throne. Innocent III. entered warmly into his views, and a new Crusade was preached. The result showed itself in the army which, in the year 1216, with Andrew, king of Hungary, at its head, made its way to

East. At Cyprus, Andrew met the Master of the Hospital, and, escorted by his fleet of galleys, they proceeded in company to Acre. Here he refused the palace which the king of Jerusalem had prepared for his reception, preferring to take up his abode in the convent of St. John. Whilst residing there, he was so impressed with the admirable manner in which the duties of the Hospital were conducted, not only at Acre, but also at Margat, which place he also visited, that he announced his desire to become a knight of the Order. Anomalous as it seemed for a monarch, whilst retaining his crown, to lay upon himself the monastic obligations of poverty, obedience, and chastity, his desire was complied with, and he was enrolled amongst the ranks of the fraternity. The King of Hungary was the first crowned head received into the Order of St. John, and he celebrated the event by granting on the Order an annuity of 700 silver marks, secured upon the salt mines of his kingdom. He did not, however, continue long in command of the Crusade, and before he had left the Holy Land the expedition was led to Egypt, where, after the capture of Damietta, they were entangled within the Delta of the Nile, which the sultan had flooded, and were forced to treat for safety. Damietta was restored to the sultan, and the army retired to Acre, bringing the campaign to an ignominious close. In the year 1228 the emperor Frederic led a new Crusade into Palestine, and on this occasion met with no opposition from the Saracens. Camel, the sultan of Egypt, regarding the ambition of his brother Coradinus, thought it advisable to make overtures of peace to the emperor; and thus, without striking a blow, Frederic was enabled to conclude an advantageous treaty on behalf of the Christians. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jaffa

were restored to the Latins, and pilgrims were to be permitted to traverse the land freely on their way to the Holy Sepulchre, the only conditions made being, that the Mahometans were also to be allowed free access to the sacred spot which they had converted into the mosque of Omar, and also that the defences of the city were not to be restored. Whilst at Jerusalem, Frederic caused himself to be crowned king, he having married Violante, the heir to that barren dignity. On this occasion the knights of the Teutonic Order supported the emperor, and their Grand Master pronounced a laudatory oration at the close of the ceremony.

This Order, ever since its first formation during the siege of Acre, had rendered the most vital assistance to the feeble state. Acting as it always did in harmony with the other fraternities, it was justly entitled to share with them the glory of maintaining the defence of the relics of the kingdom. From the date, however, of Frederic's return to Europe, which took place directly after his coronation, assistance was lost to Palestine, as the knights left the Holy Land in the train of their emperor. It is true that a few of them declined thus to abandon the cause they had adopted, and remained in the East. Some members of the fraternity were even found at the close of the century sharing in the defence of Acre; but the main body with their Grand-Master retired with Frederic.

Whilst these events were occurring, several changes had taken place in the governance of the Order of St. John. At the resignation of Alfonso of Portugal, in 1193, Geoffrey le Rat, a French knight, was elected in his place. This chief, by the mildness of his rule, soon restored the peace and unanimity in the councils of the Order which had been so rudely disturbed by the violent reforms

Alfonso. Geoffrey died in the year 1207, and was in his turn succeeded by Guérin de Montagu, a native of the province of Auvergne. It was during his Mastership that both the Crusades just recorded took place ; and he bore a very prominent part in them. He lived till the year 1230, thus enjoying his dignity for a period of twenty-three years, a longer rule than that of any Master since Raymond du Puy. His successor was Bertrand de Taxis, who died in the following year. Of the career of the next Master, Guérin or Guarin, nothing is known worthy of record. In a document dated October 26th, 1231, his name appears as the head of the Order. A leaden bulla or seal of his is also affixed to a document now in the Record Office at Malta, bearing date 1233. In this seal Guérin is seen kneeling before a cross ; the cross of the Order is visible on his mantle. The inscription runs: "Frater Guérinus Custos Ospitalis Jherusalem." At his death, which took place in 1236, Bertrand de Comps was elected sixteenth Master, which office he held for five years. It was during his rule that the third re-occupation of Jerusalem by the Latins took place. Their brief tenure of the city, which had been the result of the treaty of the Emperor Frederic with the sultan of Egypt, was brought to a close on the termination of that treaty. The sultan rejected all proposals for a renewal of its provisions, and drove the defenceless Christians out of the place. In the year 1240, Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England, made his appearance at Acre, accompanied by a long body of English Crusaders. Richard had no sooner arrived at the scene of action than he at once prepared to take the field. From the well-known energy of his character, and the strength of the army under his command, the most sanguine hopes of success were entertained.

The sultan of Egypt, in whose possession Jerusalem and its environs still remained, was at the moment engaged in a war with the sultan of Damascus. He felt, therefore, that the time was most inopportune for resisting the invasion now threatening him, and so, without waiting for any aggressive movement on the part of the earl, he offered at once to conclude a treaty by which he was to surrender Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Beritus as well as Mount Thabor and a large portion of the Holy Land. This treaty was accepted by Richard with the approbation of most of the chiefs of the kingdom; its provisions were at once carried into effect, the cities mentioned being given over to the Latins and immediately re-occupied by them. Upon this occasion no restrictions were imposed as to the fortifying of Jerusalem, and as it was evidently impossible to hold the place in security without the adoption of prompt measures, the most strenuous exertions were made to restore its defences. The treasury of the Hospital was drained to the last farthing, and the power of the Order strained to the uttermost to further the work.

In the year 1241, Bertrand de Comps died of wounds received in an action against the Turcomans, who had made an irruption into the territories of the prince of Antioch. They were in this battle completely routed, and their defeat cast a halo of glory over the chivalric end of the gallant and aged Master. He was succeeded by Peter de Villebride, whose short rule was marked by even more disastrous to the fortunes of the kingdom and of the Order.

A savage horde known by the name of Korasmins, who dwelt near the shores of the Caspian Sea, having been driven from their homes by the Mogul Tartars, had poured

er the neighbouring countries, led by their chief, Bar-
can, a general whose skill in war and intelligence in the
t of government were such as to raise him in the scale of
ivilization far above his wild followers. They soon reached
e unfortunate province which had but just returned to
e rule of the Latins, and was still suffering from the
perpetual warfare of which it had been the victim. Only a
w feeble ramparts had as yet been constructed for the
efence of Jerusalem, and behind these it was felt useless
attempt a stand. The Latin army, including the
ilitary Orders, thought it best to evacuate the city, and to
tch their camp on the plain of Gaza, sufficiently near to
atch the course of events. The Korasmins speedily made
emselves masters of the abandoned post, where they
newed once again those scenes of carnage which had
een so often before enacted on the self-same spot. Even-
ally, satiated with slaughter and weary of inactivity,
ter a few days spent in the wildest revels and the vilest
ebauchery, they advanced in a tumultuous horde, flushed
ith victory and eager for the fray, determined to over-
helm the comparative handful of Latins by whom they
ere opposed.

The valour of the Christian chivalry, though exerted to
e uttermost, expended itself in vain against the almost
untless swarms opposed to them. Upon this occasion
ose jealousies which had for so long divided the military
orders were quelled in their zeal for the common cause,
nd the blood of both Hospitaller and Templar flowed
eely in one common stream—a worthy sacrifice to their
untry and religion. For two whole days the struggle
as maintained, and still the Latins stood undismayed,
e scale of victory seeming during that long time
early equally balanced. It was not, however, within the

power of human endurance to bear up indefinitely against the interminable stream of new opponents unceasingly poured upon their exhausted ranks by the indefatigable Barbican. At length, on the evening of the second day the Christian force, overpowered by the sheer weight of numbers, was compelled to give way. Signal as was the defeat, it was unaccompanied by disgrace. Still struggling, though all was lost, the broken remnants of the army refused either to fly or to yield. In this fatal field the Masters both of the Hospital and Temple found a noble grave in company with almost the entire body of their respective Orders, only thirty-three of the Templars and sixteen Hospitallers surviving the slaughter. With this disastrous defeat ended all hope of resisting the victorious advances of the Korasmins, and the slender relic of the Christian force sought the shelter of Acre. Here William de Chateauneuf was raised to the vacant post of Master of the Hospital.

Chateauneuf found himself at the head of his fraternity at a moment when it was plunged in the direst distress. Within the limits of the Holy Land there remained but few members, mostly wounded, who from behind the walls of Acre were compelled to tolerate the ravage of the sacred province. Fortunately, the Korasmins soon began to quarrel amongst themselves, and ere long became in consequence so enfeebled as to be no longer objects of dread. Hemmed in on all sides, and harassed by the peasantry whose hatred they had aroused by their licentiousness and brutality, they gradually diminished in numbers until before long, no trace of their power remained. Free from the imminent peril which had at one time threatened complete annihilation, Chateauneuf took the most energetic measures to recruit the ranks of his fraternity, and

restore some semblance of credit to its exhausted treasury. Every preceptory in Europe was drained of its members, even novices being included in the conscription. Great sums of money were also remitted from the same sources; so that before long we find that, with the revivifying power so peculiar to it, the Order was once more flourishing with as stately a grandeur as of old.

The first Crusade of St. Louis of France was one of the results of the disaster of Gaza. This unfortunate expedition, ending as it did in the capture of the entire force in Egypt by Bendocdar, rendered no assistance to the waning power of the Christians. Louis, after having been ransomed from his captivity, and having lingered at Acre for four years, unable to accomplish anything in aid of the cause he had so much at heart, left the Holy Land in 1254, and the next few years were spent by the military orders in securing themselves within those posts which they still retained. During this lull in the political storm quarrels which had so often arisen between them, but which the urgency of their mutual peril had temporarily suppressed, once again broke forth. Beginning in single combats, or in struggles of small parties, the ill-feeling grew by degrees so rancorous that eventually they rarely met without bloodshed, and, not contented with isolated encounters, gradually developed a state of actual warfare. The mutual exasperation at last became so envenomed that in the year 1259 the whole force of the respective orders met in a general engagement. Victory favoured the side of the Hospitallers, and the slaughter was such that scarce a Templar survived the fatal day. It was long before that fraternity rallied from the blow, and by the time that their ranks had been sufficiently recruited to enable them once more to show front against their rivals, the

breaking out of renewed hostilities with the common enemy overcame the bitterness of civil discord.

It was during this, the last year of Chateauneuf's rule that the Pope issued a bull decreeing a distinctive dress for the knights of justice. It is dated in August, 1258. William de Chateauneuf died in the month of October of that year, and Hugh de Revel was elected to succeed him. This knight, the nineteenth Master of the Order, was the first who received from the Pope the title of Grand-Master. The bull conveying this dignity was dated on the 18th November, 1267. The chiefs of the Temple had from their first foundation taken the rank of Grand-Master whilst those of the Hospital had until this date contented themselves with the simpler appellation of Master.

Under the auspices of Hugh de Revel some vital changes were made in the organization of the European possessions of the Hospital. The various preceptories had hitherto been in the habit of remitting the surplus of their revenues, after deducting the cost of their own subsistence to the general treasury at head-quarters in the East. In many cases, sometimes owing to the extravagance or mismanagement of the administrators, and sometimes from causes over which they had no control, the customary balance was not forthcoming. As, however, it was absolutely necessary that a positive and considerable sum should be relied on with certainty to support the heavy expenditure of constant warfare, it was decided at a chapter-general, held in Cæsarea, that a definite payment should be demanded from each preceptory, based on the average receipts of a term of years, which sum should invariably be remitted to the general treasury, the balance being retained for local expenditure. This annual payment, which formed a species of rent-charge, was called

ponson, and was usually fixed at one-third of the gross receipts. The commission which was sent to each preceptor to announce the changes thus decreed began with the word *commandamus*; hence arose the word commander, by which title the preceptor eventually became known. Priorories were at the same time established, formed by the union of several preceptories. At the head of these were placed dignitaries with the title of prior, or, as they were afterwards termed, grand-prior. The prior held supreme control over the preceptories which constituted his priory, and he was charged with the duty of collecting and regulating their several responsions. He was also called on to maintain strict discipline, and to act as a check upon extravagance or other malpractices of the preceptors. He was instructed to make constant visits, so as to ascertain by personal observation that due economy and discipline were enforced.

Whilst thus organizing improvements in the internal economy of the Order, Hugh de Revel was at the same time making the most strenuous efforts to maintain a bold front against the perpetual aggressions of the relentless enemy. These exertions were not, however, very successful. His means of defence were so limited, and the power against which he contended was growing gradually overwhelming, that each year witnessed some new calamity. In 1263 the sultan succeeded in obtaining possession of the fortress of Azotus. Ninety knights had been placed by Revel at this post to lead the garrison and conduct the defence. One by one these brave men fell, and it was not till the last of their number had succumbed that Bendocdar was able to force his way into the town. In the succeeding year the Templars were forced to surrender the fortress of Saphoura, and these losses were soon

followed by others still more grave. Antioch, Laodicea and Karac fell in succession; and Acre itself was only saved by the report of anticipated succour from Cyprus, which induced Bendocdar, who dreaded another Crusade, to retrace his steps.

The second Crusade of Louis, in which he met his death amid the fever-breeding swamps of Tunis, brought relief to the suffering Latins of Syria. The efforts made in the year 1271 by Prince Edward of England, though conducted with energy, were equally fruitless, owing to the insufficiency of the force of which he was the leader. Having narrowly escaped assassination,* that prince returned to Europe, having succeeded in obtaining a truce for ten years, during which time a short breathing space was permitted to the harassed and dispirited Latins. In this peaceful lull Hugh de Revel died in 1278, and Nicholas de Lorgue was intrusted with the bâton of Grand Master in his stead.

The death of Bendocdar in the year 1281 brought the treaty to a close, and the military Orders were once more aroused from their brief repose. The commencement of the new war was signalized by some important successes on the part of the Christians. One of the Saracen commanders unwarily led his forces within reach of Margat, still an important stronghold of the Hospitallers—the garrison of which utterly routed them, and annihilated the whole body. Enraged at this disaster, the sultan at once despatched a force of 5,000 men for the capture of Margat.

* Immediately after the receipt of his wound, and whilst the respite threatened to be fatal, Edward made his will. It was dated at Acre June 18th, 1272, and the subscribing witnesses were Hugh de Revel, Grand-Master of the Hospital, and Thomas Berard, Grand-Master of the Temple.

dismayed by the numbers of their opponents, the Hospitallers, feeling that they were too few to meet the enemy in open combat, had recourse to stratagem. Posting a portion of their force in ambush outside the gates of the city, the remainder advanced towards the enemy in the face of battle. After a brief struggle they pretended to give way, and fled towards the town as though panic-stricken. The Moslems, hurried away by the ardour of pursuit, dashed after the retiring foe in all the disorder of rapid advance. Once drawn into the defile where the ambush was laid, the flying Hospitallers halted in their course and turned fiercely on their pursuers, who were dismayed by hearing the tumult of strife suddenly arise behind them at the same moment in their rear and on both flanks. Little or no resistance was offered; the struggle became a massacre, and a very slender remnant of the force survived to carry to the sultan of Egypt the news of this fresh and serious disaster to his arms.

Enraged to a pitch of frenzy by the double defeat which he had sustained, the sultan vowed a deep and bitter vengeance against the Order. From this purpose he never deviated, although for some years the internal disturbances of his kingdom prevented the accomplishment of his design. At length, taking advantage of an interval of repose, he advanced against Margat in person in the year 1287. Forewarned of his intention, de Lorgue had thrown a strong reinforcement into the fortress, the garrison of which calmly awaited the attack. The sultan, on arriving in front of the walls, commenced the siege in due form: the place was invested, trenches were dug, rams, towers, and other military engines were constructed, and all the usual routine strictly adhered to. On the part of the defenders every possible impediment was thrown in the

way, and their constant sorties created so many obstructions to the advance that the sultan seemed to gain little or advantage. During the time this open warfare was being carried on, so much apparently in favour of the besiegers, a secret and insidious advance was in progress, by which their speedy downfall was to be compassed. The visible attack had been a mere blind to divert attention, while the true approach was being made underground. Eventually the sultan had succeeded in undermining a large extent of rampart, temporarily supporting the walls with beams of timber. Having completely accomplished his purpose, he informed the garrison of the result, summoning them to surrender. Two of their number were permitted to enter the enemy's lines in order to receive a demonstration of the correctness of the statement. The fact being thus vouched for, it was felt that further resistance was hopeless, and the town was given up, the garrison being permitted to retire unmolested to Acre.

The last scene of the bloody drama was now rapidly approaching. Place after place fell into the hands of the victorious sultan, until at length the one only spot where the banner of the Cross waved was on the ramparts of Acre. Nicholas de Lorgue was not, however, destined to witness the *dénouement* of the tragedy. Having visited the Holy See for the purpose of making a personal appeal to the Pope on behalf of the waning church of Syria, and having utterly failed in the attempt,—for in that time Europe was weary of sending her best soldiers and her hard-earned treasures to be fruitlessly expended on the burning sands of Palestine,—he returned in despair to Acre, where he died in the year 1289. John de Villiers, a French knight, was elected in his place. He was a man whose mind was calm and far-seeing in the midst of danger.

the intrepidity of whose character was beyond the power of a doubt. It was to such a one that the Saracens felt they could best confide their fortunes in the perilous and desperate situation in which they were then placed.

After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the city of Jerusalem had become the metropolis of Christianity in the East. Its favourable situation on the sea-coast rendered it the mart of the vast commerce created by the exchange of the treasures of Europe and Asia. Its fortifications consisted of a double enceinte of rampart; numerous flanking towers strengthened its walls, which were so solid that chariots could pass abreast on their summit. These defences had been developed by the accumulated additions of ages, all the leading Crusaders who had resided within the city having added their quota. St. Louis of France, in particular, had incurred a very large outlay in his desire to strengthen this most important stronghold. The grandeur of the town itself has been a fertile subject for the descriptive talents of contemporary historians. The streets, unlike those usually to be met with in the East, were wide and regular, the squares spacious, the public buildings imposing and grand; whilst the houses, which were built of marble or the finest cut stone, were of equal height and with flat roofs, so that it was easy to pass from one end to the other without descending into the streets. Jerusalem boasted in every quarter of the town of the luxury of glass windows, at that time far from common even in Europe, and in the yet higher refinement of stained glass which were much in advance of the nations of the West. Tradition revels in the picture which it draws of the splendour of all connected with this magnificent city. The wealth of the world seems to have concentrated itself on

this highly favoured spot, and to have drawn hither representatives of almost every nation under the sun.

Such a congregation of varied races, and such a stream of wealth constantly flowing through its midst, nature engendered a vicious mode of life; and we find the city these, its last days of Christian dominion, a scene of relentless turbulence and unbridled debauchery. Many acts wanton outrage having been committed on the Moslem in the neighbourhood, the sultan Mansour, who was only waiting for a plausible excuse to complete the expulsion of the Christians from Syria, demanded reparation. The Grand-Masters of the military Orders both urged a prompt compliance with the request. It was indeed not only perfectly reasonable in itself, but also backed by a power which they felt utterly unable to resist. The advice was, however, rejected, a defiant answer was returned, and ere long the inhabitants of Acre learnt that the whole strength of the Egyptian empire was on its road to avenge the insult. Mansour did not live to carry out the enterprise himself, having been poisoned whilst on the march. His son, Khalid, however, stimulated by the last words of his father who had forbidden the burial of his own corpse till the city had been taken, determined to prosecute the siege. His army has been computed by the Arabian historians at 160,000 foot and 60,000 horse. Undismayed by this enormous force, the military Orders prepared to defend the place to the last. As the sovereignty of the sea was theirs they at once sent off to Cyprus all the non-combatant portion of the inhabitants, leaving as a garrison some 12,000 men, in addition to those who were serving under the banners of the Hospital and Temple.

Henry II., king of Cyprus, in whose person rested at this time the sovereignty of Jerusalem, on learning the

its to which this solitary remnant of his kingdom was need, landed at Acre with a reinforcement of 200 knights and 500 men-at-arms. This was the sole auxiliary upon which the garrison could rely in its resistance to the swarms by whom it was beleaguered. In the choice of leader the claims of the king, whose military reputation was, to say the least, somewhat doubtful, were overruled in favour of William de Beaujeu, Grand-Master of the Temple, who was unanimously selected for the onerous task, his experience in war being such as to secure to him the perfect confidence of the garrison.

The siege was pushed forward with the greatest vigour; ever and closer were drawn the hostile trenches, and day after day saw the city encircled with a tighter grasp. Numerous sorties were made by the defenders, led on by the heroic Beaujeu, and the desperation with which they fought was marked by the piles of Saracen dead that lay down along the plain in the track of the Latin squadrons. Such an army, however, as that which fought under the banner of Khalid, the slaughter of a few thousands more success could have but little effect. Steadily he pushed his approaches forward, step by step, until he was in a position to bring his battering rams into play, whilst his miners were burrowing beneath the towers which flanked the ramparts. Successive crashes marked the downfall of one tower after another without overcoming the resistance of the defence. At length the Cursed Tower, one of the most important points, shared the common fate, and gained a breach in the most vulnerable part of the ramparts. Henry of Cyprus, with his auxiliaries, had been summoned at this point, and he gallantly maintained the struggle against every effort of the Moslem until night intervened to put a temporary stop to the strife. Then,

however, perceiving that a renewal of the combat in the morning would place him in a desperate situation, and all probability lead to his capture, if not death, he determined to abandon the defence and regain his ship. Desirous of concealing the steps he was about to take, he alleged that the struggle of the day rendered a period of repose imperative for his force, and handed over his post to some Teutonic knights who were taking part in the defence, promising to relieve them in the morning. Instead of doing this he hurried with his troops on board the fleet which lay at anchor in the harbour, and under the cover of the night set sail for Cyprus, abandoning the remnant of the garrison to their fate.

The next morning at daybreak the Saracens renewed the assault with greater determination than ever, but the Teutonic knights who retained the post abandoned it. Henry of Cyprus, presented an impassable barrier of steel to their onset. Throughout the day the combat raged fiercely around the deadly breach, until at length, towards evening, overborne by numbers and exhausted by the protracted defence, the Germans gave way, and the enemy with loud shouts of exultation, poured into the place. At this critical moment Villiers, whose enthusiastic zeal always led him where the fight was thickest, comprehending at a glance the peril of the situation, launched his Hospitallers to the rescue. On they pressed, hurling themselves with irresistible force against the advancing Moslems. Never was the White Cross of the Order displayed in deadlier fray; long and obstinate was the struggle, but at length the impetuous valour of the knights overcame every obstacle, and the Saracen, still struggling to the last, was once again hurled backward over the breach.

This was the last gleam of success. Innumerable battalions were still at the command of Khaled, and these were poured in constant succession against the exhausted defenders. Thrice on the following day was the city taken, and as often recovered, but each effort showed more and more clearly that the place was doomed. Though every member of that heroic but attenuated garrison stood dismayed at his post, it was evidently the firmness of resolution, not the energy of hope. Beaujeu and the other leaders had no thought of surrender; still they knew that nothing short of a miracle could save them. At length the fatal morning dawned, the sun of which was to witness the complete expulsion of the Latins from Syria. Early in the day the marshal of the Hospitallers, who had more than once rescued the city from impending capture, was at the head of his knights whilst defending a breach near the gate of St. Anthony. Dismayed at the loss of his gallant knight, Beaujeu turned to Villiers and requested him, as a last resource, to attempt a diversion by slipping out of the town and attacking the enemy's camp. He trusted thus to obtain a short respite during which he might in some manner repair the ruin. There is no doubt that this instruction was the means of saving the lives of the officers and the knights who accompanied him, though at that moment the service seemed one leading to certain death. Hastily assembling a troop of his knights, and announcing to them that the time had now arrived to sacrifice themselves for their faith, he sallied out by a side street and made a circuit, so as, if possible, to fall on the flank of the enemy unperceived. Khaled was, however, too wary a general to allow himself to be thus taken by surprise, and when Villiers reached the intended point of attack he found a strong force of cavalry drawn up to

receive him. All efforts to penetrate this serried mass proved unavailing, and eventually he was driven back with the slender relics of his force.

Meanwhile, the breach of St. Anthony had been carried, Beaujeu slain, and the town fallen into the hands of the enemy. All was therefore lost, and nothing left but to endeavour to rescue such of his knights as had hitherto escaped the slaughter, which was even now flooding the streets with blood. Retreating warily, he formed a rallying point for all who were able to join him, and gradually reached the shore. Here he succeeded in embarking them on board the galleys which were lying at the roadstead. This was a very difficult operation, and one not carried out without severe loss. The enemy was held in check by the archers, who, posted on the vessel's decks, kept up an incessant discharge upon the advancing squadrons. Under cover of these missiles the embarkation was at length completed, and thus the slender relics of that proud fraternity which had during so many years raised the White Cross as a barrier impassable to the Moslem were compelled to abandon the sacred soil of their adoption, and to wend their sorrowful way towards the island of Cyprus.

CHAPTER III.

1291—1365.

Establishment of the Order in Cyprus—Its first naval armaments—Project for the capture of Rhodes—Death of William de Villaret, and accession of his brother—Capture of Rhodes—Destruction of the Order of the Temple—Arrogance of Fulk de Villaret—His flight to Lindos—Appeals to the Pope—His resignation, and appointment of Elyon de Villeneuve—Division of the Order into *langues*—Dieudonné de Gozon and the dragon of Rhodes—His election as Grand-Master—Succession of Cornillan and de Pins.

THE slender and dispirited relics of the unfortunate garrison of Acre found shelter in Cyprus, where Henri de Lusignan, anxious to atone for his desertion, welcomed them with open arms. The town of Limasol was allotted to them as a residence, and here the Hospitallers once more re-established their convent. An imperative order was at once issued for each grand-priory to despatch hither without delay all its available members. This injunction was obeyed with so much enthusiasm, that in the course of a few months the ranks of the fraternity were again restored in numbers. Nor was it in men only that assistance poured in from Europe; the coffers of every priory were drained for the assistance of the general treasury, so that they were soon able to open their Hospital, and recommence the exercise of those charitable duties which had been so rudely disturbed.

Although the Holy Land had now passed completely away from the power of Christendom, the number of pilgrims seeking its shores continued unabated; the duty therefore still devolved on the Order of supplying such protection and escort on the road as lay within their power. For this purpose, the galleys which had conveyed them from Acre were brought into requisition, and the new element thus adopted they soon succeeded in demonstrating that the White Cross of St. John was to be as much dreaded when waving over their galleys as it had been in the van of their troops. To the various parts of Italy and the Adriatic their fleets proceeded in the months of March and August; they collected the grateful bands of devotees at these several points of embarkation and escorted them safely through the perils of the Levant, until they landed in Syria, whence, as soon as the cravings of their religious enthusiasm had been satisfied, the brethren accompanied them back to their various destinations.

Whilst thus employed, they not unfrequently encountered the galleys of the Turks which, scenting their prey, were generally to be found hovering near the desired victims. These soon discovered that their old enemies had lost none of their vigour, and were still as dauntless in enterprise as of old. The numerous Ottoman prizes, which ere long graced the harbour of Cyprus, were the first promising token of that maritime supremacy which was eventually to assert itself on the waters of the Mediterranean. Many of these captures proved extremely valuable, and in some cases individual knights succeeded in appropriating to themselves much of the wealth which should have found its way to the treasury. Discipline had in truth been rudely shaken

and the sudden flush of prosperity thus developed tended still further to loosen its bonds. The very island in which the fraternity had established its convent bore amidst its balmy breezes the seeds of that voluptuousness which, from the earliest ages, had been its characteristic, and the Hospitaller, returning from a successful cruise, sought to make amends for the toils and privations he had undergone by an outburst of luxurious dissipation.

During the remainder of the rule of John de Villiers these expeditions continued without intermission, and the knights gradually so curbed the power of the infidel in this branch of warfare, as to render the navigation to the Levant comparatively secure for the commerce of Europe. This was a boon which every nation could appreciate, especially those who, like the Venetians, owed their position to the magnitude of their trading transactions. Whilst the knights of St. John had been engaged in the defence of the Holy Land, their achievements, brilliant as they were, had been of but slight use to the populations of Europe; and although much religious enthusiasm had been evoked by the tales of heroism and chivalry, which were the constant theme of troubadour in hall and bower, still the effect was transitory. Now, however, when, in addition to the sacred cause of opposing the infidel, there was added the more tangible benefit of protection to commerce, a cry of gratitude arose on every side.

The difference between the conduct of the Hospitaller and Templar was freely discussed. They had both equally earned renown by their gallant defence of Acre, and had shared the same fate on its fall. But from that time what a contrast had there been? The

Hospitaller, taking advantage of the nearest point, established himself almost within sight of the shore from which he had been driven. Unable any longer to compete with his foe on land, he had not hesitated to encounter him on the seas; and those Turkish rovers who had for so many years been the terror of the Levant were taught to feel the curb. Instead of the slave markets of Egypt being filled with captive Christian sailors, the tables were suddenly turned, and the Turk was himself found tugging at his oar in one of the numerous galleys of the Hospital. The Templars, on the other hand, after a brief sojourn in Cyprus, hurried westward with unseemly haste, and settling themselves in their various European preceptories, gave way to the most unbridled dissipation. Their gross licentiousness, and the arrogance of their bearing, soon drew down on them the universal distrust and hatred, whilst there were wanting those who possessed both power and will to accomplish their overthrow. No doubt, during the last years of their existence, little can be said in favour of the Templars; and although the cruelty with which their extinction was accomplished has raised a feeling of compassion on their behalf, it cannot be denied that they had of late years gravely deviated from the original designs of their institution.

In the year 1294, John de Villiers died at Cyprus, and was succeeded by Odon de Pins, a Provençal knight, who only survived his election three years, when he was in his turn replaced by William de Villaret, also a knight of Provence. This Grand-Master soon became impressed with the desire of securing a new and more permanent home than that of Cyprus. For this purpose, he turned his eyes in the direction of Rhodes, a spot which

appeared in every way adapted to the purpose he had at heart. This island had originally formed a dependency of the empire of Constantinople. It afterwards became the prey of the Genoese, in whose possession it continued until the emperor Vatiens succeeded in recovering it. Gradually, however, its governors established themselves as independent princes, and in order to make good their pretensions against the empire, they opened their ports to the Turkish corsairs of the neighbourhood. To repel this voracious swarm, and destroy their nest, would of itself be an act reflecting great credit, whilst further to erect therein a stronghold which should be a terror to the infidel, and a support to the commerce of Europe, was certain to evoke the deep gratitude of Christendom.

Impressed with these views, Villaret determined to carry out a thorough reconnoissance of the island. He casted cautiously round it, marking well its various points of defence, the positions of the harbours, the sites of the towns, and, as far as he could ascertain, the number of their respective inhabitants. By the time he had concluded his survey it was made very clear to him that the undertaking was one of no ordinary magnitude, and that Rhodes possessed the most formidable means of defence, its inhabitants knew how to make use of them. He returned, however, undeterred to Cyprus, fully resolved at once organizing an expedition for the capture of the island. Unfortunately, in the midst of his preparations, he was seized with sudden illness, which carried him off in the year 1308, to the deep regret of the fraternity. They promptly elected his brother Fulk in his place, conviving that he would, from his knowledge of his brother's designs, be the best fitted to carry them out. Fulk at once proceeded to France, where he found the king,

Philip the Fair, and the Pope, Clement V., in conclave at Poitiers, in company with the unfortunate Grand Master of the Temple, James de Molay. Villaret lost no time in submitting his scheme, pointing out the many advantages which the acquisition of Rhodes by the Order would confer on Europe. Clement supported him warmly and not content with contributing a large sum of money, used his utmost influence to obtain assistance from the various nations of Europe. To the Grand-Master himself he gave the right of nomination to the archbishopric of Rhodes in the event of his success warranting the creation of such a dignity. Great numbers of enthusiasts responded eagerly to the papal appeal, and flocked to Brundisium, the proposed port of embarkation. Selecting the flower of this host of volunteers, Villaret shipped them on board the galleys which had been furnished for the expedition by the king of Sicily and the republic of Genoa.

On arrival at Rhodes he at once made a descent on the coast, and, after a slender and desultory resistance on the part of the inhabitants, effected a landing. By this prompt measure the open country fell, to a great extent, into his hands. Still, as the town of Rhodes remained in the possession of the Saracens, it was clear that the most difficult part of his task yet remained to be accomplished. Hoping by a bold stroke to achieve a complete victory, he attempted to carry the town by sudden storm, but in vain. The number and valour of the garrison, aided by the strength of the defences, more than counterbalanced the impetuous energy of the invaders, backed though these were by the veterans of the Hospital. Many of the Saracens had, during the first moments of panic, embarked on board their galleys, and put to sea. These

After a time, seeing that all was not lost as they had imagined, returned to port and aided to swell the strength of the garrison. On the other hand, Villaret was doomed to witness a rapid diminution of his own forces. The failure in the first assault had damped the ardour of many, deeming the enterprise hopeless, stole away from the scene of strife. Matters grew gradually more and more unpromising, until at length Villaret found himself abandoned by all but the members of his own fraternity.

Under these adverse circumstances any further attempt on the town was out of the question, and before long Villaret found himself in a state of siege in his own camp. The position was clearly desperate, and he determined upon attacking the enemy, and either to drive him into the sea, or sacrifice the slender remnants of his own force in the attempt. The struggle was long and obstinate, but desperation at length inclined the balance in favour of the Hospitallers, and ere that day's sun had set Villaret had the satisfaction of witnessing the dispersion of the numerous battalions by which he had been surrounded. The routed Saracens, under cover of the night, flung themselves into their galleys, and, crossing over to the mainland, spread everywhere the news of their defeat. Meanwhile, Villaret having re-assembled the relics of his force, returned once more to his attempts on the city. Finding himself unable to achieve its capture by assault, he converted the attack into a blockade, determining to await the arrival of reinforcements from Europe. His steady perseverance and indomitable energy carried him through his difficulties. He borrowed largely from the bankers of Florence, and thus provided with the sinews of war, he gradually assembled a considerable force of mercenaries. Finding his strength was now such as to

warrant active measures, he decided once more to deliver an assault. This was carried out on the 5th August 1310, with complete success, and before nightfall on the day the White Cross banner of the Hospital was waving over the ramparts of the town.

The name of Rhodes is supposed to have been derived from the roses for which the island was famous. It had previously been called by the Greeks, Orphieuse, the island of serpents, owing to the number of venomous reptiles with which it was in those days infested. Possessing a mild and equable climate, with a soil of such fertility as to render the whole country one vast garden, it was indeed a spot likely to attract the attention and excite the desires of a body of men who, like the Hospitallers, were in search of a permanent home. During the ages of her early civilization, the hard population of Rhodes furnished a constant supply of seamen, who, in the pursuit of commerce, were to be met with at every port in the Mediterranean. When, in later years, the island fell under the control of the effeminate empire of Constantinople, it gradually became inoculated with the same vices and decay which were steadily effecting the overthrow of the mother country. At the time when the knights raised their banner in the island, its inhabitants had lost all that energy and strength of character which distinguished them of old, and they had bowed in abject submission under the yoke of the Saracen pirates whom they had received within their ports.

Villaret's first act, after having secured possession of the town, was to embark with a large portion of his forces for the purpose of visiting the various small islands in the vicinity. He thus speedily enforced submission

his authority in Nisyros, Leros, Calamos, Episcopia or Melos, Calchos, Symia, and Cos, in none of which did he meet with any serious opposition. Having carried out these precautionary measures he returned to Rhodes, and took the necessary steps to establish his convent there. From the time of the first landing of the Hospitallers until their settlement in undisputed sovereignty over that and the neighbouring islands, a period of nearly four years had elapsed, the whole of which had been passed in a constant succession of struggles. Whilst these events were occupying the energies and engrossing the attention of the knights of St. John, changes of the most vital importance had been taking place in Europe, by which their future fortunes were greatly affected, and to which it will be necessary now to refer. Philip the Fair had conceived a bitter hatred to the Templars, principally caused by the numerous acts of arrogance and insubordination of which its members in his kingdom had been guilty. Clement V., who was a mere tool in his hands, and who owed his elevation to the papacy entirely to the king's interest, had pledged himself to exercise the whole authority of his new position in effecting the destruction of that fraternity. In order to carry out this design, the Grand-Master, James de Molay, had been summoned to Lyons, where he unsuspectingly arrived in the early part of the year 1307. He brought with him a large accumulation of treasure, the property of the fraternity, which, for security, he lodged in the Temple of Paris. He was at first treated with every consideration by both king and pontiff. Various discussions took place as to the advisability of a union between the two Orders; indeed, Clement was so urgent on this point that it seems

likely he desired by such an amalgamation to save the Templars from that utter destruction to which he stood pledged by his promises to Philip. Be this as it may, de Molay strenuously opposed the suggestion, and in a lengthy document, which history has preserved, he adduced numerous arguments to support his antagonism to the measure. From that moment his fate was sealed. If the Pope had made the proposal as a compromise whereby the lives and property of the Order might be preserved, the refusal of de Molay prevented its success, and thenceforth he determined to let matters take their course.

The blow was at length struck. Secret orders were issued to the judicial authorities in every province of France directing them simultaneously to set on foot a survey of all the Temple preceptories within their respective districts. They were to make themselves acquainted with the persons of the knights resident therein, and on the 13th October these were to be arrested and made prisoners. An inquiry under the Inquisition was to be afterwards instituted, the application of torture being authorized to extort the necessary confessions. The charges, which were framed into a regular act of inquisition, embraced seventy-seven items and were principally supported by two most unworthy witnesses, one of them, Nozzo de Florentino, an apostate Templar, and the other, Squire de Florian, a native of Béziers, both under sentence of imprisonment for life. On the 19th of October, 1307, the Grand Inquisitor commenced his examination of the knights confined within the Temple at Paris, whose number amounted to 140. These unfortunate men were one after the other subjected to the most fearful torture, under the

instructed hands of the Dominicans, and a mass of confession elicited through its influence.

Edward II., of England, was not at first disposed to join in the persecution, but a bull from the Pope, addressed to him on the 22nd November, seems to have decided him to act, and on the 8th January, 1308, all the Templars in England, save such as were fortunate enough to elude the grasp of the law, were seized and made prisoners, to the number of 229. It will not be necessary to enter into any detail of the proceedings which were carried on in the two countries, the accusations being practically the same, and the results not very dissimilar. Whilst, however, the examination of the prisoners was prosecuted in England with comparatively little cruelty, the French knights were made the victims of the most diabolical torture. A large number perished under the hands of the questioners, and many more sought a temporary relief from their agonies by confessions, which admitted the justice of the accusations brought against them. There still remained steadfast an heroic band, who had withstood to the last, and firmly continued to maintain their innocence. Of these, fifty-four were burnt alive in Paris in a single day. They died testifying to the lustre to the fair fame of their Order and the fearful injustice of the persecution to which they had fallen victims.

The concluding act of the bloody drama remained yet to be performed. The Grand-Master and the three grand-priors of Normandy, France, and Aquitaine still languished within the dungeons of their persecutors. The extremity of the torture to which they had been subjected had elicited from each a partial confession;

it was therefore deemed advisable, in order to justify the atrocious cruelties and the scandalous spoliation of which the fraternity had been the victims, that these confessions should be reiterated with the utmost publicity by the unfortunate knights. For this purpose, a scaffold was erected in front of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, and on the 18th March, 1313, the citizens were summoned to hear the confessions of these, the four principal officers of the Order, read out and ratified by themselves. When called on to confirm their statements, the priors of France and Aquitaine submitted and thus purchased an ignominious reprieve. James de Molay, however, advancing to the edge of the scaffold repudiated his previous admissions. He announced to the assembled multitude that not only had they originally been extorted from him under the agony of torture but further, that they had been distorted and interpolated in the most barefaced manner. The prior of Normandy commenced a similar recantation; but the authorities hurriedly brought his address to a close, and the two recusants were taken back to their prison. Without delay the fiat for their instant execution was issued, and that same evening James de Molay and his fellow-victim, Guy, prior of Normandy, were burnt alive before a slow fire on a small island in the river Seine. The spot where this tragedy took place is now marked by the equestrian statue of Henry IV.

These measures were followed by a papal mandate, announcing the extinction of the Order, and decreeing that its property should be transferred to the knights of St. John. For a considerable time this edict remained in complete nullity; eventually, a part of the forfeited revenues did find its way into the treasury of the Hospitallers.

Castile, Aragon, and Portugal the respective monarchs created new military Orders, taking for themselves the position of Grand-Master, under the title of administrators. The ostensible purpose of these new establishments was the provision of a barrier to repel the inroads of the Moors, the real motive being that they thus retained in their own hands all the property of the defunct fraternity. In France, Philip laid claim to the sum of 200,000 livres as a reimbursement of the money which the prosecution of the Implars had cost him, and his son extorted a further sum of 60,000 livres before he could be brought to permit the transfer of the much-coveted land, to the Hospitallers. In England, the overthrow of the brotherhood was followed by a general scramble for the good things thus left without a owner. Much was seized by Edward for himself, more was transferred to favourites about the court, whilst in other cases, claims were put in by the heirs of the original donors, which were admitted. The Pope, indignant at this secular appropriation of so much ecclesiastical property, wrote most urgently and menacingly on the subject. Ultimately, the dread of papal fulminations led to the enactment of a Bill in Parliament in 1324, by which the Hospitallers were put into legal possession of their rights. They found, however, to their cost, that there was a vast difference between legal rights and actual possession. The struggle between themselves and the many vultures who had settled upon the prey was continued for a lengthened period, and even then much was permanently lost.

Such was the sad end of the Order of the Temple, an institution coeval with that of the Hospital, and which had stood side by side with it on many a well-fought field. Now, whilst the one Order had by its recent conquest of Rhodes raised itself to a still higher position in the

estimation of the world, the sun of its rival's glory had set in gloom. That the Templars had of late years achieved for themselves a reputation far from enviable, an indisputable fact; that riot and debauchery of every kind had for some time been rampant within their preceptories, must be admitted by every impartial student of history. To drink like a Templar had grown into a by-word. Nor were their vices confined to intemperance only; they had become cankered and corrupted through the vitiating influences of inactivity and sloth. The objects for which they had been originally called together in the bonds of brotherhood, and which had been the invigorating influence during two centuries, were abandoned. It was the universal feeling that the day of the Order was over. Philip and Clement were therefore only carrying out the popular sentence when they swept away for ever. Nevertheless, whatever may have been their crimes, whatever their vices, it is impossible to study this last sad scene in their eventful career without a strong feeling of pity for their cruel fate. However they may have degenerated in later years, they had for two centuries borne their part nobly in the struggles of the East, and had earned a reputation which should have saved them from so disastrous an end.

Meanwhile, Villaret was securing his establishment at Rhodes. The Saracen inhabitants of the town having either fled of their own accord or been expelled by the victors, it was found necessary to create a new population by attracting thither a mass of Christian emigrants. Trade was encouraged in all possible ways, and merchants from every country in Europe were tempted to take up their abode in the island by the freedom from restrictions and taxation which commerce enjoyed under this politi-

def. The ramparts were speedily restored to a state of security, and the general defences so developed as to engender a feeling of safety. From all this it resulted that within a very few years the harbours were filled with rich argosies, laden with the most precious commodities of European manufacture, from whence were borne back on the return voyage the no less valuable merchandise of the East. To protect this vast and annually-increasing trade, the galleys of the Order, now become a considerable fleet, traversed the Levant in all directions, at one time convoying the homeward-bound merchantmen to their destination, and at another falling upon the Turkish corsair wherever he could be encountered. Rarely did they return to port without some substantial result in the form of rich prizes.

The wealth of the fraternity was now increasing with amazing rapidity, and although the lately-acquired estates of the Templars as yet produced but little to their new lords, the prospect of their shortly developing into a source of revenue seemed to warrant a somewhat free expansion of expenditure. The usual consequences soon manifested themselves; luxury in every form gradually usurped the place of that simple mode of life which had satisfied their predecessors. The renown which the capture of Rhodes reflected on the knights had attracted to their ranks many of the younger members of the noblest houses in Europe—youths whose minds were filled with all the martial ardour incident to their age and station, but in whose hearts there was but little of that religious enthusiasm which, two centuries before, had recruited the ranks of the institution with a body of men austere in their private life as they were chivalrous in their warlike zeal. The times had indeed changed, and

with it the thoughts and feelings of the world at large. The sentiment of piety which, though rude in its development, had formed the main incentive to the deeds of daring hitherto recorded, was now giving way to a more material and worldly aspiration for glory. It was thought by these aspirants for knightly fame that, provided the Hospitaller were ever prepared to meet the foe either on the deck of his galley or behind the ramparts of his stronghold, provided he were at all times ready to shed the last drop of his blood in the defence of his faith and of his Order, it mattered but little what his private conduct might be. Whilst they could point to the deeds of daring which had rendered his name famous, he deemed it quite unnecessary to practise those austerities which the rules of his profession had enjoined.

Many, indeed, of the older knights beheld with disapprobation this rapid demoralization, which was undermining the first principles of their institution. They were loud and urgent in their remonstrances; they pointed to the fearful tragedy which had been so recently enacted against their brethren-in-arms, showing how the weapons employed in the destruction of one Order might at any moment be made available against the other, should they by their conduct draw down on themselves the odium of the powers that be. The revenues, moreover, of the Templars were, as they remarked, more apparent than real; whilst, on the other hand, the treasury was encumbered with enormous liabilities on account of the loans raised by Villaret from the bankers of Genoa and Florence, for the purpose of achieving the conquest of Rhodes.

What rendered their exhortations futile was the fact that the Grand-Master himself, the man to whom every

he naturally looked for example and support, was in his person outvying his youthful *confrères* in the extravagance of his expenditure and the dissipation of his life. Surrounded by favourites on whom he bestowed all the patronage at his disposal, he gradually assumed an overbearing arrogance of manner towards all who were not ready to render him the most absolute homage. He seemed to consider that his gallant deeds in the acquisition of Rhodes had invested him with a sovereignty in the island far more absolute than that pertaining to his magistral position. The supremacy which others looked on as vested in the Order, and of which he was merely the chief administrator, was by him considered a personal matter. The murmurs which his conduct gradually engendered were at first low and suppressed. Men were loth to think hardly of the hero under whose guidance they had achieved so much. They were prepared to tolerate much in him which they would never have borne in another. Still, patience and forbearance have their limits, and Villaret gradually found that the lustre of even his reputation was becoming insufficient to stifle the dissatisfaction excited by his haughty bearing.

Secret disaffection eventually developed into open complaint, and Villaret was summoned before the council to answer the numerous charges preferred against him, principally on the score of misappropriation of the public revenues. To this summons he paid not the slightest heed, asserting that his position placed him above the jurisdiction of the council. Under these circumstances it was decided that he should be seized within his palace and brought by force before his judges. The steps taken for this purpose aroused the suspicion of Villaret, who at once removed himself out of the way of danger. Under pretence of a hunting

party in the country, he, with a select body of adherents, left his palace on the morning of the day chosen for his capture and betook himself to the castle of Lindos, a fortified place about seven miles from Rhodes, protecting a small but convenient and well-sheltered harbour. Once safely lodged within the ramparts of this asylum, Villaret showed defiance to his antagonists, and protested against any action to which the council might resort in his absence. The enemies of Villaret, enraged at this act of open defiance, once more assembled in solemn conclave. They now found themselves joined by many of the more moderate members, who had hitherto remained neutral. They were naturally indignant that their chief should so far have overstepped the limits of his authority as to seize upon and retain a stronghold of which they were the lords, and which he was garrisoning with foreign mercenaries.

Loud, long, and stormy was the debate, for even though Villaret was not without friends, whose allegiance he had secured either by the brilliancy of his former reputation or the munificence of his later days. Their voices were, however, overborne. His last offence had been too open and barefaced to admit of explanation, and a decree was passed deposing him from his office. One of the leaders of the malcontent party, a knight named Maurice de Pagny, was appointed in his place. A report of the whole proceedings, together with the announcement of the re-nomination, were at once forwarded to the see of Rome for the approval of the Pope. Villaret, at the same time, from his stronghold at Lindos, sent his version of the affair. Here, then, was a tempting opportunity presented to the pontiff for interfering in the affairs of the Order, and for gauging his own influence and authority. He at once issued three separate bulls—the first addressed

Villaret, and the second to de Pagnac, summoning them respectively to Rome; whilst the third appointed a knight, named Gerard de Pins, to act as vicar-general during the absence of the two claimants to the office of Grand-Master.

Villaret and de Pagnac both obeyed the summons, and proceeded to Avignon, which was at that time the seat of the papacy, and whilst there the latter died before any action had been taken in the dispute. His death removed one great obstacle from the path of the Pope, whose object was the nomination of a creature of his own to the magisterial office. He induced Villaret, by the offer of a grand-priory, where he should be permitted to enjoy the revenues of the office free from all interference on the part of the fraternity, voluntarily to resign his dignity. The Pope thereupon summoned to Avignon the members of the Order who were within reach of his influence. Here, under his own surveillance, and the pressure of his personal influence, he caused a successor to be nominated, in whose allegiance he felt sure he could confide. Elyon de Villeneuve was the knight thus selected, and, irregular as was the mode of his election, the fraternity accepted the decision without cavil, and he took his place on the rolls as the twenty-fifth Grand-Master, in the year 1319. Villaret received his appointment to the grand-priory of Toulouse, whither he retired without any further attempts to recover his position. No records, bearing on the remainder of his life, are now in existence. All that is known is that he died at Montpellier on the 1st September, 1327, where, in the church of St. John, his monument still exists. Villeneuve was in no hurry to exchange the luxury of the papal court for the comparative banishment of

a residence at Rhodes; so, for a period of thirteen years, he, under one pretence or another, postponed his departure. During this interval a chapter-general was held by the Order in accordance with its mandate at Montpellier. It was on this occasion that the Order was, for the first time, divided into *langues*. Many writers have dated back this division of the fraternity almost to its first establishment. There is certainly no trace whatever in any of the records now existing to warrant such a supposition. It was in this council that the division appeared for the first time. The Order, although originally founded by Italian merchants, had rapidly become principally French in its composition, and that nationality had always preponderated among its members. The fact that the chapter-general had been assembled in France added still more to the influence of that element. We find, therefore, that whilst the number of *langues* was fixed at seven, no less than three of them were French, viz., those of France, Provence, and Auvergne. The other four were Italy, Germany, England, and Aragon. The dignities in the gift of the Order were at the same time attached in proper proportion to these new divisions, the leading posts, owing to the weight of their influence, being given to the three French *langues*. The name of Sir John Builbriux appears at this chapter as the Turcopolier, or commander of the light cavalry. This dignity was from that time permanently allotted to the *langue* of England. In addition to this grand-cross, three others were at the same time appropriated to England, viz., the bailiwick of England, or the Eagle (an honorary distinction formerly belonging to the Templars), and the grand-priories of England and Ireland.

Many needful reforms were introduced into the reg-

sons at this chapter, which was held in the year 1331. These were not made before they were urgently required. The number of those who preferred an easy and luxurious residence in a European commandery to the secluded life and constant warfare entailed by the necessities of the life at Rhodes was very great. The difficulty of overcoming this feeling had increased so rapidly that the subject was one of the first brought under the consideration of the chapter. It was there decreed that a certain term of actual residence at Rhodes, and the performance of a definite number of caravans (as the cruises on board galleys were called), should be an absolute requirement to qualify a knight for holding any official post or dignity whatsoever. Several other stringent reforms were at the same time carried, though not without considerable discussion and many loud expressions of dissatisfaction. Fortunately, however, for the benefit of the Order, the majority of the chapter stood firm and so gained their point.

In 1332, after a delay of thirteen years from the date of his election, Villeneuve proceeded to Rhodes. Here he found that under the lieutenancy of Gerard de Pins the fortifications of the town had been considerably developed, and a spirit of discipline introduced into the convent to which for many years it had been a stranger. When, therefore, that knight resigned the reins of office on the arrival of his chief, he had the satisfaction of knowing that his lengthened rule had reflected credit on himself and had been most beneficial to the interests of the fraternity.

It was during the earlier years of Villeneuve's residence at Rhodes that the legend is recorded of the encounter of a Hospitaller with the famous dragon. The tale is

so well known, through the poem of Schiller and illustrations of Retsch, that it appears almost needless repeat it. Still, as it was one of the incidents held the highest estimation by the Order, in subsequent ages occupying a prominent place in all the histories, it would be wrong to pass it over in silence. The story runs that a monster had made its appearance in the island, where it committed the most fearful ravages, carrying off many of the inhabitants, especially women and children, and establishing itself as the terror and scourge of the locality. Numerous attempts had been made to accomplish its destruction, but in vain, many knights having lost their lives in their gallant endeavours to rid the island of the pest. The Grand-Master, dismayed at the losses sustained in this novel warfare, forbade, under pain of the severest penalties, any further attempts.

One knight alone had the hardihood to dare disobedience to this mandate. Dieudonné de Gozon—a youth whose dauntless courage scorned to quail before this strange foe and whose heart was touched with the deepest emotion at the wail of grief extorted from the miserable inhabitants by the ravages of the dragon—felt that he could not refrain from one further attempt on behalf of these suffering peasants. Without confiding his mission to any one, he retired by permission to France. There, in his paternal castle, he caused a *fac-simile* of the monster to be constructed, covered with scales, and presenting, as nearly as possible, the terrifying aspect of its living counterpart. Having procured two English bull-dogs, a breed even then famous throughout Europe, he trained them to the attack of the fictitious monster, teaching them to fix their grasp upon the belly, where the animal was unprotected with scales. Having thoroughly accustomed his four-footed

stants to the aspect of the foe, he returned with them to Rhodes, and at once proceeded to carry his project into execution. It is needless to enter into the details of the test as given in the legend. Gozon, by the aid of his fine allies, achieved the destruction of his enemy, though before he had been unhorsed, and had well-nigh paid with his life the penalty of his temerity at the first onset of the brute. He was borne back in triumph to Rhodes, where the whole town received its deliverer with the most acclamations. This triumph was, however, at first very short-lived. The Grand-Master promptly summoned him before the council to answer for his disobedience to a magisterial mandate, and on his appearance before the council he was stripped of his habit as an unworthy and rebellious knight. Having by this display of severity clearly marked his determination to enforce obedience, the Grand-Master, at the unanimous request of the members of the council, was induced to relent. In consequence of the gallantry displayed in the action, he not only restored his habit to Dieudonné, but nominated him to one of the richest commanderies in his gift.

How far this legend can be borne out by facts is a very disputed point, some writers throwing discredit over the whole story, whilst others are prepared to admit the probability of its having, at all events, some foundation. The opponents of the legend argue upon the gross improbability of the existence of any such monster, with the voracious propensities and extraordinary powers attributed to it. They further assert that in the middle of the fourteenth century there could have been no difficulty in achieving the destruction without having recourse to the chivalric and somewhat antiquated expedient of a combat on horseback. The use of Greek fire had long been known, and

gunpowder itself was also gradually being adopted. With the assistance of these agents it could not have been necessary for the attacking party to have run any great danger in exterminating the reptile.

On the other hand, it seems strange that the story should have obtained such very general credence, and have been so universally upheld by succeeding generations. It is an indisputable fact that the commencement of the inscription on Gozon's tomb, erected only thirteen years after his death, runs thus: "*Ingenium superat vires. Deodatus de Gozon eques immanem serpentem interfecit.*" Which may be thus rendered: "Skill the conqueror of force. Dieu donné de Gozon, knight, slew an enormous serpent." It must not be forgotten that the island had, when under the Greeks, been called *Orphieuse*, or the isle of serpent from the number of venomous reptiles swarming therein. That there was some truth underlying the legend seems on the whole, certain. Dieudonné de Gozon did undoubtedly destroy some noxious beast or reptile which had infested the island, after others had failed in the attempt. He thus gained for himself a reputation, which gradually swelled until it attained the proportions of the fable. In reference to this subject, Newton, in his "*Travels and Discoveries in the Levant,*" says, speaking of Rhodes "Over the Amboise Gate a head was formerly fixed, which has been thus described to me. It was flat on the top and pointed like the head of a serpent, and as large as the head of a lamb. This head was certainly on the gate as late as the year 1829, and seems to have been taken down some time previous to 1837. This is perhaps the same head which Thevenot saw in 1657, and which he thus describes: '*Elle était beaucoup plus grosse que plus large que celle d'un cheval, la gueule fendue*'"

jusqu'aux oreilles, de grosses dents, les yeux gros, le trou des narines rond et la peau tirant sur le gris blanc.' According to the tradition in Thevenot's time, and which has been preserved in Rhodes ever since, this was the head of the great serpent slain by Dieudonné de Gozon in the fourteenth century." Madame Honorine Biliotti thus describes the head which she saw in 1829 (translated from Biliotti's "*L'Ile de Rhodes*," p. 151): "This skull, which was fastened over the inside of the Ambroise Gate, the point of the jaw downwards broad towards the top, and contracted near the point like the head of a serpent, seemed somewhat smaller than the skull of a horse; the lower jaw and the front cartilages were missing, so that I was obliged in imagination to replace the portions destroyed by time. The sockets of the eyes were large and round; there was no trace of skin upon the bones, which were completely blanched. In short, this skull, such as I saw it, without lower jaw and the point of the muzzle, had more the appearance of a serpent's head than that of a crocodile."

The Grand-Master Elyon de Villeneuve died in 1346, and Dieudonné de Gozon, the hero of the dragon, was nominated as his successor. Vertot relates that on the occasion of this election Gozon rose in his place in council, and taking his audience completely by surprise, nominated himself as the person best qualified to succeed to the vacant office. This tale is a fabrication, for among the documents recently discovered in the archives of the Vatican is a letter addressed to Gozon by Clement VI., dated in July, 1346, in which, after congratulating him on his election to the magisterial dignity, the Pope goes on to allude to the fact of his having been prevailed upon, with great reluctance, to accept the post. This

letter, coupled with the fact that he twice during his rule tendered his resignation, most completely exonerated his memory from the stigma of arrogance, which the invention of Vertot's is calculated to cast upon it.

During his continuance in office Gozon was much troubled by the difficulty he experienced in obtaining payment of responsions from the more remote commanderies. A circular is extant addressed by him to the priors of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, reproaching them for not having remitted any responsions since the fall of Acre. The war between the Genoese and Venetians created a new difficulty. The fraternity contained within its ranks knights belonging to both those nations and these naturally sympathized with their countrymen. When residing in their European commanderies they could not always refrain from joining the belligerents, although such an act was in direct contravention of the rules of the Order, and the Pope called on Gozon to put a stop to the practice. This was a mandate easier given than obeyed, and involved the Grand-Master in much difficulty and some obloquy. Nor was this the only incident which arose to disturb his serenity. The due governance of the dignitaries and principal officers of the institution, residing far away from the convent, became a matter of ever increasing difficulty. Possessed as they were of considerable patronage, and with control over large sources of wealth, they were enabled to ingratiate themselves with the ruling powers in the countries where they lived. Finding themselves supported by the monarch, they were able to bid defiance to the Grand-Master. Gozon became so discouraged and so deeply hurt at the position in which he found himself, that he twice

petitioned the Pope to allow him to resign his office. On the first occasion he was induced, after much persuasion, to retain it, but on the second application his request was complied with. Before, however, any action had been taken in the matter he died, towards the end of 1353. He was succeeded by Peter de Arnillan, the grand-prior of St. Gilles, of the *langue* of Provence, whose rule only lasted two years, when he was replaced by Roger de Pins, also a knight of Provence. During his time a chapter-general was held at Avignon, in which it was decreed that from that time no serving brother should be raised into the class of knights of justice. General receivers were also appointed, to whom the responsions should be paid, and by whom they should be remitted direct to Rhodes. This step was taken to guard against the misappropriations which were so constantly occurring.

Roger de Pins died in 1365, and was succeeded by Raymond Beranger, also a knight of Provence. A period of 250 years had now elapsed since first the order was established on a military basis by Raymond Puy. Since that time many changes had taken place, and the institution had developed into a very complex organization. It will be well, therefore, at this point to make a pause in the historical narrative, and to furnish the details of the power into which the fraternity had expanded, and of the mode in which its affairs were conducted.

CHAPTER IV.

Divisions of class in the Order—Langues—Grand-Master, his position and power—Courts of Egard—Bailiffs, their offices—Adaptation of the Order to change of circumstances—System of management in Commanderies. Report on the grand-priory of England 1338—Details of income and expenditure—Gross results and number of members.

It has already been stated that at its first institution the Order of St. John was composed of three separate classes, ranked under the respective heads of Knight, Chaplains, and Serving Brothers. Of these the class of chaplains gradually became subdivided into conventual chaplains and priests of obedience. The former were specially attached to the head-quarter convent and performed all the ecclesiastical duties appertaining thereto, whilst the latter carried on such parochial work as was incident to their profession in the numerous European commanderies. The serving brothers were also subdivided into two classes, one comprising those who entered the Order in this rank with the hope of winning the spurs under the White Cross banner, and afterwards obtaining admission into the class of knights; the other composed of men who, from the lowness of their birth, were unable to enter in any other capacity. At the chapter-general held in 1357 under the Grand-Mastership of Roger de Pins (referred to in the last chapter), the

former of these subdivisions was abolished, it being then decreed that no serving brother could be promoted into the rank of knights of justice.

As time wore on, and the advantages of birth became more and more considered, the regulations for admission to the first class gradually increased in stringency. The insignia of the knight were no longer deemed a sufficient guarantee for the introduction of the wearer; it was made necessary that he should adduce proofs of the nobility of his descent before he could claim admission as a knight of justice. In the various *langues* these proofs of nobility differed materially, four quarterings only being required in the English, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese *langues*, eight in the French, and no less than sixteen in the German. The stringency of these regulations was not relaxed until at a later period of the Order's existence, when an innovation gradually crept in, and knights of justice were appointed, to meet the case of wealthy candidates whose parentage would not bear the requisite test. The establishment of the princely mercantile families which formed the mainstay of the Venetian and Genoese republics led originally to this addition.

Over and above this threefold division, we have already seen that during the Grand-Mastership of Elyon de Villeneuve, in the year 1331, the fraternity was separated into seven *langues*, viz., Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Germany, England, and Aragon. In the year 1461, a eighth *langue* was added by the division of that of Aragon, the new portion receiving the title of Castile and Portugal.

The supreme head of this fraternity, which comprised amongst its members natives of every country in Europe, was the Grand-Master. The rules of the institution do

not appear to have contemplated the exercise of an autocratic sway on the part of its chief. On the contrary they were so framed as to mark the extreme jealousy with which his authority was to be limited. Even after the possession of the island of Malta had established him in the rank of a sovereign prince, and entitled him to maintain envoys in all the principal courts of Europe, his power over the members of his own fraternity was so limited as to render his position often very difficult to support. The doctrine laid down appears to have been that the sovereignty was vested in the Order as a body, and not in the Grand-Master personally; in fact, he only ranked as first amongst his equals, as it was defined in the statutes, *primus inter pares*. The principle of the Habeas Corpus was carried out to its fullest extent, it being illegal for the Grand-Master to detain a member in custody for more than twenty-four hours without bringing him to trial. Nor did the vow of obedience taken by a candidate at his profession give his superior that power over his actions which might have been expected. He was permitted, in case he disapproved of any order, to appeal to the Court of Egard, and to persist in his disobedience until the sentence of that court should be pronounced.

The Court of Egard was established as a tribunal before which any dispute arising between members of the fraternity might be brought to trial. It was composed of one member from each *langue*, whose appointment rested with the *langues* themselves. Over these a president was placed named by the Grand-Master. The examination and witnesses was strictly oral, the voting being by ballot. Appeals from this court might be made successively to the *renfort* of the Egard, in which the number of members from each *langue* was doubled; thence to the *renfort of the renfort*.

ere there were three members for each *langue*; and, ally, to the bailiffs' Egard, which was composed of the ventual bailiffs or their lieutenants. The decision of the latter tribunal was final, and its decrees were carried immediately on promulgation.

Next in importance to the Grand-Master, in the governance of the Order, ranked the bailiffs or grand-priors. These dignitaries were of three kinds—conventual, capitular, and *ad honores* or honorary bailiffs. The first-named resided continuously at the convent, and were the immediate chiefs of their respective *langues*, in each of which there was consequently only one. His election lay with the Grand-Master, but with the members of the *langue*. The principle of seniority was generally recognised, but exceptions were sometimes made when great merit or extreme popularity led to the selection of a junior knight. The capitular bailiffs resided within the European possessions of their *langue*, in their respective grand-priories. In the English *langue* there were two, the grand-priors of England and Ireland. The bailiffs *ad honores* were originally appointed either by a chapter-general or, in its default, by the Grand-Master in council, acting under the sanction of a papal bull. This prerogative was ere long found to be highly inconvenient. The princes of Europe were perpetually urging the Grand-Master to its exercise in favour of their own friends, and their requests always been complied with the rank would have lost its value from the number of the holders. Eventually, therefore, the Grand-Masters surrendered the privilege, whereupon the Pope assumed to himself the reserved patronage. Under papal auspices the appointments became so numerous, and such strong opposition was in consequence offered, that at length the system was again

changed, and a fixed number of titular or honorary bailiffs divided amongst the *langues*. There was one such in the English *langue*, viz., the bailiwick of the Eagle, thus giving to England four grand-crosses; the conventual bailiff two capitular bailiffs, and one bailiff *ad honores*.

The conventual bailiffs each held, *ex officio*, an important post in the active government of the fraternity. The bailiff of Provence was the grand-commander. The office made him president of the treasury, comptroller of the expenditure, superintendent of stores, governor of the arsenal, and master of the ordnance. The bailiff of Auvergne was the grand-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the forces, both naval and military. In those days the services were not kept distinct as they are now, and the knights served indiscriminately either on land or sea. The grand standard of the Order, the famous White Cross banner, was intrusted to his charge. The bailiff of France was the grand-hospitaller, under whose control came, as the name imports, the supreme direction of the hospitals and infirmaries. The bailiff of Italy was grand-admiral, and acted as second in command to the grand-marshal. The bailiff of Aragon was the grand-conservator, whose duties were somewhat analogous to those of a commissary-general in a modern army. The bailiff of Germany was grand-bailiff of the Order, his jurisdiction being that of chief engineer. The bailiff of Castile and Portugal was grand-chancellor, and such was supreme over the legal tribunals. The bailiff of England was the Turcopolier, or chief of the light cavalry.

It has been a matter of some dispute as to what was the real signification of the term Turcopolier. The most probable explanation is that it is derived from the Gre-

and πῶλος, a colt, and thence an offspring generally. The Turcopoles were the children of Christian fathers by Turkish mothers, who, having been brought up in their father's religion, were retained in the pay of the Order. They were clothed in Eastern fashion, inured to the climate, and well acquainted with Oriental modes of warfare. They consequently made excellent skirmishers, and were well adapted for all the duties of light cavalry. The earliest record now in existence of an English Turcopolier is dated in 1328, when an English knight was appointed to the office, and from that time until the suppression of the *langue* the post was always held by an Englishman. It is not easy to account for the arbitrary attachment of a peculiar office to each different *langue*, when it is remembered that most of these posts seem to have required much technical professional knowledge, and should, one would think, have been held by men chosen by their talents. It would certainly seem more sensible to have selected as chief engineer a man who had made that science his peculiar study, rather than to have given the office to the bailiff, for the time being, of Germany, when a dignitary may have been, and probably generally was, ignorant of the rudiments of the profession. The explanation of the incongruity seems to be that it was designed to prevent the jealousies and cabals which would otherwise have sprung up on the occasion of every vacancy. Even, although the Grand-Master did not actually possess the patronage of these offices, he must have been able, from his position, to influence the selection; and as his influence would probably have been exercised in favour of his own countrymen, the result would have been to overthrow the balance of power between the various nationalities. As it was, the preponderance of the French

element perpetually led to disagreement. It will be seen later on that it was the source of much difficulty at a critical juncture in the fortunes of the Order. The regulation was, therefore, very probably made as a precaution against a monopoly on the part of the all-powerful French *langues*. It certainly seems the simplest method by which that result could be obtained.

It still remains difficult to account for the particular selection of the offices attached to each *langue*. The French being the most numerous, it was natural that the three most important offices should be attached to the three *langues*, but as regards the others, no such solution can be given. It may be that the offices which chanced to have been held by the different *langues* at the time, were from that moment permanently attached to them. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that the post of Treasurer was being held by an Englishman at the time when it was definitely appropriated to that *langue*, and the same may have been the case with other nations.

Lieutenants were nominated in the same manner as the bailiffs, whose duty it was to act for them whenever they were absent or incapacitated by sickness.

The property held by the Order in the various countries of Europe was, for the convenience of superintendence, divided into estates of moderate extent, termed commanderies. Several members of the fraternity were attached to each of these estates in various capacities, and at its head was placed a brother, in whose hands was vested its supreme control, and who bore the title of commander. Although it was a post of importance and responsibility, it was not necessarily held by a knight of justice, a certain number of the commanderies in every priory having been reserved for the other two classes.

ns strange, but it is a fact, that in commanderies thus
cerned there were, nevertheless, knights attached in
a subordinate position of *confratres*. The commander
bound to exercise the most rigid supervision over the
estate under his control, and to husband its resources with
care. Grand-priors were appointed, under whose sur-
veillance a certain number of commanderies were placed,
usually all those contained in a province or other territorial
division. These officials received from the commanderies
their surplus revenues, which were lodged in the
treasury of the priory.

The payment to be made by the grand-priory to the
treasury at Rhodes, under the title of responsions, was
calculated at one-third of the gross receipts of the com-
manderies. An average was struck, and a fixed amount
deducted thereon. As the commanderies paid over to the
treasury the actual balance remaining of their revenues
after the payment of expenses, the grand-priory was either
gainer or loser, according as those remittances were more
or less than had been calculated for. The responsions
were remitted to the general treasury at Rhodes through
the medium of receivers, nominated in most of the leading
commercial cities of Europe, who acted as bankers. The
grand-prior was bound to make a personal inspection of
each commandery in his district at least once in every five
years. He had full authority to correct abuses, and to order
such renewals, alterations, and improvements as seemed
to him necessary to develop the resources of the estate.

It is an interesting study to observe how the system
carried out by the Order of St. John adapted itself to the
varied circumstances of the localities where its property
was situated. In Palestine there were pilgrims to be
attended and sick to be nursed; there was also constant

warfare to be waged against the Moslem. We find, therefore, that here the Hospitaller in his barrack convent was half soldier, half monk. At one time, wrapped in his black mantle, he might be seen seated by the pallet of the sick and lonely wanderer ; at another, mounted on his gallant steed, clad in burnished steel, he was to be found hewing a pathway for himself and his brave companions through the serried ranks of the foe. The spirit of the age was in accordance with such transformations, and the Order in adapting itself to that spirit, laid the sure foundation of its future grandeur and prosperity.

In later years, when the fraternity had become established in Rhodes, we find great changes showing themselves in their habits and duties. The hospitals were still maintained and tended, but they no longer constituted an important branch of the knight's duties. There were no wearied and harassed pilgrims to sustain ; the sick had dwindled into the ordinary casualties incident to the population of a small island. The knight was no more to be seen forming one of that squadron who, under the White Cross banner, had so often struck dismay into the hearts of the enemy. Having established himself in his new home, and expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land having ceased to be practicable, he commenced to fortify his stronghold. Rampart and ditch grew and extended, the skill of engineering science being exhausted to devise fresh defences. The fortress of Rhodes, and at a later date that of Malta, remain imperishable records of the energy, the perseverance, and the science with which he carried on his work. Meanwhile, he was busily engaged in developing the power of his Order on the sea. On the waters of this his new dominion he trod the deck of his galley every inch a sailor ; but few who saw him

o would recognize in the hardy mariner of the Levant
a warrior monk of Palestine.

Whilst these changes were taking place in the charac-
teristics of the fraternity, another sphere was at the same
time opening for the display of their gift of adaptation
to circumstances and place. Having been originally
organized as a body, one of the leading features of which
should be the poverty of its members, they had ended
by amassing wealth almost fabulous in extent. True, the
individual remained without possessions of his own, the
acquisitions continually falling into the hands of the
fraternity being common property. Under cover of this
distinction they sheltered themselves against the apparent
inconsistency between their vows and their acts. Whilst,
however, they disclaimed all personal interest in their
common wealth, they were never remiss in turning it to
the best possible advantage. In addition to its privileges,
property has also its duties, the due performance of which
requires special aptitude and training. We find the
Knight of St. John in his European commandery aban-
doning the chivalric aspirations of the Syrian crusader
for the reckless intrepidity of the island seaman, and
appearing under a totally different aspect from either,
as a genial lord of the manor and a wary steward of
the property of his Order.

Nor was the new duty thus imposed upon him by any
means an easy task. The mere existence of these bands
of warrior monks, acting under an organization of their
own, free from external control, was a perpetual source of
contention with the ruling powers. Freed by the dicta of
papal bulls from most of the restrictions imposed on the
monastery, and yet only partially acknowledging the authority
of the Church, they held extensive property in countries

to the crown of which they paid no due allegiance, and the revenues of which they transmitted for expenditure a distant land and for foreign objects. At the same time they refused to the Church those tithes which she gleaned from all her other votaries. They were dreaded by the monarch, who scarce knew whether to regard them as friends or foes, and they were hated by the genuine ecclesiastic, who looked on them as unauthorized encroachers, despoiling the Church of much property which the piety of her sons might otherwise have dedicated to her own special use. It was a difficult matter for the commandant placed in such a position, to steer a middle course, and undeterred by the threats of the monarch on the one hand, or the mitred churchman on the other, to pursue the even tenor of his way, and with calm steadiness and perseverance to carry on that process of extraction which he had been appointed to his office.

In different countries this system must of course have varied; still, the leading features of the operation were undoubtedly the same in all. We are fortunate in being able to form a very accurate notion of what this was from a report drawn up in the year 1338 by the then grand prior of England, Philip de Thame, to the Grand-Master Elyon de Villeneuve.* The picture which this document affords of the stewardship of landed property in England

* This report, which exists in MS. in the Record Office at Malton, was printed by the Camden Society in the year 1857, under the title of "The Hospitallers in England." The report was prefaced by a most admirable digest from the pen of the Rev. E. B. Larking, whose essay the author is indebted for much of the matter contained in the remainder of this chapter. The original MS. is in perfect preservation, and although somewhat difficult to decipher, from its crabbed and contracted Latin, is almost as distinct and clear as the day when it was first penned.

The fourteenth century is most valuable, and a careful study of its contents will give the reader an accurate representation of the position of agriculture in its various branches at that period.

The document furnishes a balance-sheet of each commandery separately. We will begin with the income side. In each case the first item recorded is the mansion, with its kitchen-garden and orchard. The house itself does not figure as an actual source of revenue; still, as it obviated the necessity for any payment of rent, it was valuable property. The garden and orchard appear in every instance to have produced somewhat more than was required for the consumption of the household. The amount realized for the surplus varied from a few shillings to nearly a pound, but it rarely approached the latter sum. A further source of profit was the *columbarium* or dovecote, which in some cases produced as much as thirty shillings, the usual average being from five shillings to half a mark.*

Next on the list stands the rent received from arable, meadow, and pasture land. The first varied much in the different counties. In Lincoln and Kent it ran as high as two shillings an acre, whilst in Somerset and Norfolk it did not yield more than three halfpence. Meadow land seldom fell below a rental of two shillings an acre, and in Shropshire it reached as much as three shillings. Pasture land was not calculated by the acre, but by the head of cattle, the average receipt from that source being somewhat as follows:—An ox or a horse, a shilling; a cow, two shillings; a calf, sixpence; a sheep, a penny; a goat, three things. Messuages, mills, and fisheries stand next on the list, and do not require any explanation. The profit

* The mark was thirteen shillings and fourpence.

of stock afforded a considerable source of revenue. This was the return produced by the cattle bred and fattened on the home farm. In some instances it is, however recorded that owing to the devastation of enemies damage by inundations, and other causes, the stock returned no appreciable profit.

A fruitful source of income was that derived from churches and chapels appropriated to the Order, the fund of which were paid into the treasury, chaplains being provided at its charge. In the case of sixteen of these, the combined amount paid to the credit of the *langue* was £241 6s. 8d., whilst the cost of providing chaplains was only £34 10s.; thus showing that, as in the present day the lay impropiators swept off the lion's share of the substance originally dedicated to the support of the Church.

In those days the system of villainage, or compulsory service of bond tenants, was universal throughout Europe. We see it figuring largely on the credit side of our balance sheet. These services were generally rendered either by payments in kind, such as poultry, eggs, corn, &c., or by the giving of a certain amount of labour for the benefit of the lord of the manor. As these latter have almost invariably been entered in the accounts as money receipts there can be little doubt that a fixed commutation has been concurred in between landlord and tenant. The former thus secured for himself a certain and settled revenue, whilst the latter was protected from the caprice of his lord, who might otherwise have demanded his services at a time when his own crops required attention. From an entry which occurs in the commandery of Shaldeford, the price at which this labour was commuted may be deduced, it being in that instance fixed at twopence a day. The total amount received under this head throughout

England was £184 16s. 8d. We next come to the rent paid by freeholders, the entry for which is placed under the heading of *redditus assisus*. In only one instance is the nature specified. In the commandery of Godsfeld in Hampshire, it is distinctly stated to be rent for houses in the two towns of Portsmouth and Southampton. The profits arising from the fees and perquisites paid to the minor courts constitute an entry in almost every bailiwick. In some cases they amount to a considerable sum. An officer, called the steward of the manor, was appointed for the collection of these dues.

There yet remains one item of income to be explained, which was of a totally different character to the rest. This was a voluntary contribution from the neighbourhood, and is entered under the title of *confraria*. The mode of collection is not specified, but it is probable that house-to-house visitation was annually made for the purpose of extorting the charity of the pious. The amount thus scraped together by the wealthy mendicants

St. John from the overtaxed commons of England amounted in 1338 to nearly £900. It appears that even this large sum was less than what had previously been obtained, as may be gathered from an entry in the case of Renham, where the smallness of the contribution is accounted for by the poverty of the country, and the heavy taxes payable to the king for the support of the navy.

Having thus glanced at the various items standing on the credit side of the balance-sheet, we now come to the expenditure. The first charge against the funds of the commandery was for the maintenance of the household. In every manor there was a commander, in whose charge was vested the property, and attached to him were other

brethren termed *confratres*. These, together with the chaplains, formed the first class in the establishment, and a separate table was provided for their entertainment. There appear to have been three different tables at which according to their rank the members had their common meals, the first being that already mentioned, the second for the free servants of the Order, and the third for the labourers or *garçiones* kept in its employ. Most of the provisions consumed at these tables were provided from the stock of the land, and consequently cost nothing. There appear however, very constantly an item under the head of *coquina*, which seems to have embraced the provision of meat and fish beyond what was taken from the estates. Three different kinds of bread were supplied to the several tables—viz., white, ration, and black bread. There were also two kinds of beer, the *melior* and *secunda*. In addition to their keep, the commander and his *confratres* had an annual allowance for their dress, and as this was the same in every commandery it may be assumed to have been fixed by authority. It consisted of £1 for a robe, 6s. 8d. for a mantle, and 8s. for other articles of clothing. The members of the household had wages as well as board, which not only varied greatly for the different classes, but also for the same class in different commanderies. The highest in rank and pay was the *armiger*, who in some cases received as much as £1 a year, the more usual stipend for him as well as the *claviger*, the *ballivus*, the *messor*, and the *coquus* being a mark. The wages of the *lotrix* or washerwoman seem to have been the smallest, in most cases amounting to 1s. only.

A very heavy charge is of frequent occurrence in the accounts under the head of *corrody*. This term signifies a claim to commons at the different tables of the establish-

ent, and was probably originally granted either in payment for money lent or as a return for some favour conferred on the Order. The table from which the corrodary drew his commons depended on his rank. Those who were of gentle blood were accommodated at the higher table with the commander and his *confratres*, the others were quartered either on the *liberi servientes* or the *corcionos*. In some cases these corrodaries were in the receipt of very luxurious rations. For instance, at Clerkenwell, William de Langford is entitled to his commons at the commander's table whenever he chooses to dine there, together with a place for one chamberlain at the second table, and for three inferior servants at the third. But on occasions when it was not convenient for him to be present he drew instead an allowance of four loaves of white, two of ration, and two of black bread, three flagons of best beer, and two of *secunda*, one dish from each of the three tables, and nightly, for his bedroom, one flagon of best beer. During the winter season only, he drew daily four bundles and a faggot of firewood. For his stable he drew half a bushel of oats, hay, litter, and one shoe with nails per diem. All these allowances were granted to him for the term of his life, by charter from Thomas Larcher, who was at the time grand-prior of England. This worthy seems to have distributed pensions and corrodies right and left with the most reckless profusion, so much so that some years prior to the date of this report he was either superseded by, or resigned his post to Leonard de Lybertis, grand-prior of Venice, under whose fostering care the revenues of the English *langue* underwent a rapid change for the better.

In addition to the expenses incurred for the maintenance of the household and its corrodaries, there was in

many commanderies a heavy item under the head of hospitality. The rules of the Order were very strong in favour to the free exercise of this virtue, and it seems clear, on studying the accounts, that they were most liberally complied with. In fact, the various commanderies appear to have partaken very much of the character of houses of public entertainment, where both rich and poor might feel certain of a hospitable reception. Of course, no charge was made for this service, though it seems probable that the item of *confraria* already alluded to may have been swelled by the donations of such amongst the better class of travellers as had experienced the hospitality of the fraternity. How far the claim to maintenance on the part of the humbler wayfarer may have extended is not easy to determine, but there must have been a limit somewhere, or, unless the fourteenth century differed widely from the present day, an unrestricted system of open housekeeping would have entailed the maintenance of all the idle vagabonds in the country. The Anglo-Saxon law limited the claim in the case of monasteries to three days; probably, therefore, the same restriction was made at the commanderies. It may also be assumed that in the former cases a good day's work on the farm was extorted in return for the day's keep, thus in a measure deterring the idle from seeking a shelter, the sweets of which could only be purchased by the sweat of his brow.

This wholesale system of hospitality must not be traced always to a purely pious motive; there were many sagacious reasons of policy which much encouraged the practice. It must be borne in mind that in those days newspapers did not exist, the majority of men travelled but little, and information was slow in spreading from one point to another. We may readily conceive, therefore,

at a vehicle for the collection and distribution of important intelligence the table of the commander must have been. The grand-prior, in his headquarters at Erkenwell, might be regarded somewhat in the light of the editor of a modern metropolitan journal, receiving instant despatches from his correspondents at their provincial commanderies. These would contain a digest of all the gossip, both local and general, which may have livened the meals of the preceding week. This information could, of course, be collated and compared with that forwarded from other quarters; so that the earliest and most correct intelligence would always reach the prior, and this he could at times turn to very valuable account. We may conceive him on some occasions in a position to give a friendly hint to the king in council of some projected political movement, hatched in the fastnesses of the north or in the secluded glens of the west; for such information we may feel sure that an ample *quid pro quo* was expected, in the shape either of a direct donation or of exemption from some of the numerous burdens with which the laity were oppressed. The knights were all aware of the advantages which their organization gave them on this head, and were not slow to avail themselves of it. The records exhibit carefully the expenses they incurred in hospitality to travellers; but they do not say anything of the results, pecuniary or otherwise, which were obtained by the practice. The intelligent reader may, however, perform that calculation for himself, and it is to be feared that on striking the balance but little would remain to be carried over to the credit of charity.

There are, nevertheless, some entries which show that this exercise of hospitality was not always free from inconvenience, although the fraternity did not grudge a

heavy bill for the sustenance of its numerous provincial guests, provided the information forwarded by the commander was of a value commensurate with the expenditure; yet cases constantly occurred where the outlay was large and the results disproportionately small. A few items of local gossip or provincial scandal would be dearly purchased at the expense of many a good quarter of wheat and malting barley. Under such circumstances it was but natural that an exculpatory note should accompany the obnoxious item. It was also frequently necessary for the commander, whose position gave him considerable standing in the county where he resided, to receive at his table those of the laity who considered themselves his equals, and who chanced to live near him. This has in several cases been quoted as an excuse for the extent of the housekeeping accounts. Thus we find at Hampton that the Duke of Cornwall is made to bear the blame of the heavy bread and beer bill which the fraternity had contracted. In the Welsh commanderies the trampers became the scapegoat, who, to quote the expressive language of the accountant, "*multum confluunt de die in diem et sunt magis devastatores et sunt imponderosi.*" The accounts of Clewdenwell, the head-quarter station of the Order in England, show that its proximity to the Court rendered it peculiarly liable to this expense. The king had the right not only of dining at the prior's table whenever he might choose to honour that dignitary with a visit, but also of sending to the priory such members of his household and court as he might find it inconvenient to provide for elsewhere. It is not, therefore, surprising that we find among the housekeeping expenses of this establishment 430 quarters of wheat at 5s. a quarter; 413 quarters of malting barley at 4s.; 60 quarters of dragget malt at 3s.; 225 quarters of

ult at 2s., 300 quarters of oats at 1s. 6d., in addition to large sum, for what we may call the kitchen bill, of 21 6s. 8d., besides many minor items for meal, porridge, base, candles, &c. It was indeed a long price that the community had to pay for the presence of the monarch and his satellites.

Of all the entries on this side of the account that which seems the most strange is the outlay for law charges. Some of the items are innocent enough, as the salaries of the law officers of the Order and the fees of counsel, which appear to have been usually 40s. a year with robes. Beyond these, however, there are many which prove the quality of our courts of justice, almost all the judges having been in the pay of the fraternity. Thus in the Exchequer we find the chief baron, Robert Sadyngton, the barons William Everden and Robert Scarburg, the grosser, William Stoneve, and the two remembrancers, Ervase Willesford and William Broklesby, each in the receipt of £2 a year. The oppositor, Roger Gildesburgh, earned for an annual salary of £5. In the court of Common Bench the chief justice, William Herle, received £10 a year, judge William Sharesull £5, judges Richard leburgh and John Shardelowe £2 each. In the King's Bench the chief justice, Geoffrey Scrope, received £10, besides a couple of manors at Huntingdon and sharesull. His brother justice, Richard Willoughby, earned for £3 6s. 8d., and in the court of Chancery four the clerks pocketed an annual fee of £2 each. All these entries are expressly stated to be payments made to legal authorities to insure quiet possession of the lands which had been transferred from the recently suppressed order of the Temple.

The report shows that at that date the number of the

fraternity resident within the limits of the grand-priory of England was 119, in addition to 3 donats and 8 corrodaries. Of these 34 were knights of justice, of whom 14 were commanders; 34 were chaplains, of whom 7 were commanders; and 48 were serving brothers, of whom 1 were commanders. The rank of the remaining 3 is not specified. It must be remembered that in addition to the above the *langue* of England also embraced the grand-priory of Ireland, and the preceptories of Scotland, but neither are any details extant. In addition to its commanderies, the Order held in England smaller estates called *cameræ*. These not being of sufficient importance for the appointment of commanders were either administered by lay bailiffs or farmed out. Their proceeds went directly into the treasury of the grand-priory, none of the fraternity being maintained by them. The *langue* also stood possessed of sundry manors, formerly the property of the Templars.

The total gross income of the grand-priory is shown in the report to be as follows:—Commanderies, £3,917 19s. 9d.; *Caméræ*, £747 7s. 8d.; and lands transferred from the Templars, £2,337 14s., making a total of £7,003 1s. 1d. The local expenses amounted to £3,176 16s. 11d., leaving a balance credited to the treasury of the grand-priory of £3,826 4s. 6d. The expenditure of the general treasury in pensions, bribes, &c., was £1,329 2s. 4d., leaving a balance for the payment of responsions of £2,497 2s. 1d. The grand-priory of England was assessed at the amount of £2,280. It will be seen therefore that in the year in question there was a trifling surplus, which came into the hands of the grand-prior. The income of that dignitary was £1 per diem; for a period of 121 days this charge appeared in the several commanderies, two or three days in each

der the head of the grand-prior's visitation. For the remainder of the year it is charged in a lump sum as one of the expenses of the general treasury. He received in addition the sum of £93 6s. 8d. for robes for himself and household. In considering all these figures it must be borne in mind that in the fourteenth century money had a value fully sixteen times greater than at the present day.

Such then was the mode of life carried on in the commanderies of the English *langue* at the time of which we are writing. It will not be too much to assume that in other countries a very similar system was pursued. Certain differences must, of course, have been made to suit the habits and character of the people. Although the liberty of the English peasant in those days was limited, it was far greater than that enjoyed by his continental brother. Doubtless the commander in a French or Spanish manor ruled over his peasantry with an autocratic despotism denied to him in England. We may safely assume that in no other *langue* would there have been so large an expenditure in the item of beer, either *prima* or *secunda*. Certainly nowhere else would so noble a revenue have been extracted from the same extent of land. Still, allowing for these and other minor differences, the report of the grand-prior, Philip de Thame, affords a very excellent clue to the general system of governance adopted by the Order of St. John in the management of its property.

CHAPTER V.

1365—1480.

Expedition to Alexandria—Election of Heredia—His previous history—He escorts the Pope to Rome—Is captured by the Turks—Returns to Avignon—His death, and election of Naillac—Battle of Nicopolis—Timour the Tartar—His overthrow of Bajazet—Loss of Smyrna—Erection of the fortress St. Peter at Budrum and of the tower of St. Michael—Election of Fluvian and de Lastic—Descent on Rhodes—Fall of Constantinople—Elections of de Milly and Zacosta—Formation of eighth *langue*—Election of Orsini—Fall of Negropont—Preparations for defence of Rhodes—Death of Orsini, and nomination of Peter D'Aubusson—His previous history—Description of Rhodes—The three renegades—D'Aubusson made dictator.

THE vacancy caused by the death of Roger de Pins was, as recorded at the end of the third chapter, filled by Raymond Beranger. The only incident during his reign worthy of note was the capture of Alexandria by the knights, in conjunction with the king of Cyprus, on the 10th October, 1365. Although they were unable to retain possession of the place, they succeeded in destroying such a vast amount of shipping that the naval power of the Turk was seriously crippled for a lengthened period.

Beranger died in 1374, and Robert Julliac, grand prior of France, was appointed to fill the vacancy. At the time of his election he was residing in his priory, and

before making his journey to Rhodes he proceeded to Avignon, to pay his respects to the Pope. Whilst there he received instructions from his Holiness that the knights should take over the responsibility of the defence of Myrina. This was a post which, although most valuable to the interests of Christendom, was one of extreme danger and costliness to its holders. Situated at a considerable distance from Rhodes, its garrison would be completely isolated; any energetic attempt, therefore, upon the part of the enemy, by whom it was surrounded, would probably lead to its destruction before reinforcements could arrive. The cost also of the maintenance of such a force for the defence of the place imperatively demanded was a terrible drain upon the resources of the treasury. In spite of these drawbacks the trust was accepted, and a garrison, formed entirely of volunteers, was at once despatched to take over the new acquisition. Julliac died on the 29th July, 1377, and was buried in an antique Greek sarcophagus of white marble, which was utilized for the purpose. This sarcophagus, after the capture of Rhodes by the Turks, in 1522, was emptied of its contents and turned into a basin for a public fountain. It remained in this ignoble position until quite recently, when it was purchased by the French Government, and deposited in the museum of Cluny, at Paris.

Juan Ferdinand d'Heredia, the castellan of Emposta, grand-prior of Catalonia, Castile, and St. Gilles, the most extraordinary pluralist that had ever been known in the fraternity, was nominated as the new Grand-Master. The career of this man had been so strange, and his influence over the fortunes of the Order, both for evil and good, so powerful, that he has justly been looked on as one of the most conspicuous characters which have figured in its annals.

Descended from a noble family in Aragon, he was the younger brother of the Grand-Justiciary of that kingdom. His brother, who had for some years been married without issue, was anxious to see the family perpetuated through him, and therefore induced him to marry. The result was that whilst still young he was left a widower with four children. Shortly afterwards his brother's wife, who had been for many years childless, gave birth to a son. This disastrous incident left Juan without prospects. Unable to remain quietly a pensioner on his brother's bounty, he took his departure for Rhodes, leaving his children under the protection of their uncle. There he was warmly welcomed by the Grand-Master, Elyon de Villeneuve, and professed as a knight. He soon ingratiated himself with the fraternity, and his advancement became rapid. He was promoted in succession to the commanderies of Alhambra and Villet, then to the bailiwick of Caspa, and, lastly, to the castellany of Emposta, one of the most important offices in the gift of the Order.

A dispute having arisen between the Pope and the Grand-Master as to a nomination to the grand-priory of Catalonia, Heredia was sent to Avignon to maintain the rights of the fraternity. Here he soon discovered that it would be impossible to induce Clement to give way, and he also perceived that he would gain more by supporting the papal pretensions than by upholding the rights of the Grand-Master. The result of his machinations was that he was himself appointed to the disputed office. Having succeeded in this step, the new grand-prior felt that the idea of a return to Rhodes must be abandoned. He therefore exerted himself to the utmost to secure a position at the court of Avignon, and to become useful to his new patron. In this he was so successful that

long he became the favoured minister and principal adviser of the Pope.

During the pontificate of Innocent VI., the successor of Clement, the fortunes of Heredia reached their zenith. He had been the most intimate friend of the new pontiff prior to his elevation, and now became his sole confidant and adviser. He was appointed governor of Avignon, and the affairs of the papacy were almost entirely committed to his hands. Whilst occupying this exalted position he was courted on all sides. The princes of Europe and their ministers sought, by the most lavish gifts, to ingratiate themselves with a man in whom so much power was vested, and he consequently amassed a large amount of treasure. Heredia was possessed of the most magnificent ideas, and we find him, in gratitude to his patron, surrounding Avignon with a fortified enceinte at his own sole cost, a work which must have entailed vast expenditure. The Pope, equally prodigal of his gifts, though more crafty as to the source from whence he drew them, bestowed upon him in return the two grand-duchies of Castile and St. Gilles.

After the death of Innocent, and during the sway of his successor, Urban V., Heredia perceived that his influence at the papal court was sensibly declining. The death of Urban, and the election of Gregory XI. in 1370, curtailed it still further. He therefore came to the conclusion that the time was come to provide himself with an honourable retirement for his old age, far from the scene of political turmoil, in the midst of which he had been plunged for so many years. With this view he cast his eyes upon the Grand-Mastership at Rhodes as a position precisely suited to his purpose. The death of Julliac presented him with an opportunity for carrying his design

into execution. Availing himself of the vast interest which his position had secured for him amongst the cardinals and others, whose voices were likely to control the electors in their choice, he caused himself to be put in nomination. The council had so often felt the weight of his influence against themselves that they were not slow in perceiving the policy of disarming such potent antagonism, and Heredia found himself elected to the post he coveted.

It was at this time that Gregory carried into execution his design of restoring the seat of the papacy to Rome and he was escorted on his voyage from Marseilles to Italy by the new Grand-Master, who had assembled a fleet of eight galleys for his own conveyance to Rhodes. This duty accomplished, Heredia took his leave, and whilst off the coast of Morea fell in with a Venetian fleet on its way to recover sundry portions of that country which had recently fallen into the possession of the Turks. Unfortunately for himself, Heredia joined in the expedition, and the result was that he was taken prisoner at Corinth whilst heading a reconnoissance. He languished in captivity for three years, until, in 1381, his ransom was effected, when he proceeded to Rhodes, and assumed his magisterial functions, which he continued to exercise for fifteen years. During this time he was surrounded by difficulties, principally arising from the great schism in the church, which had led to the election of the rival pontiffs, Urban VI. and Clement VII. Heredia declared in favour of the latter, in which he was supported by the convent at Rhodes, and by the French and Spanish *langues*. The Italian, German, and English *langues*, on the other hand, joined the party of Urban. During the disputes Heredia found it impossible to enforce due obedience to his mandates from many of the European con-

manders. He was, therefore, requested by the council to proceed to Avignon, where Clement held his court (his brother, Urban, being at Rome), and to seek at the hands of the Pope the means of reducing the refractory commanders to submission. Several chapters-general were convoked at Avignon, at all of which he presided, and in which many beneficial regulations were enacted. As at this time Smyrna and Rhodes were threatened by the Turks he dispatched to both places, at his own cost, vessels laden with provisions and munitions of war. He also made several foundations in favour of his own *langue* of Aragon. At length, in the year 1396, Heredia, bowed with years and the cares of office, sank into the grave, universally regretted and beloved by the fraternity. The virtues and good deeds of his old age had obliterated the remembrances of what he had been during the earlier portion of his career. Men forbore to think on all the wrongs he had wrought against them in former times, when contemplating the advantages and the prosperity which during his later years he had been the means of procuring. Vertot well sums up his career by saying that it would have been good for the Order had he never entered it, or having once reached the goal had he never been taken from it. He was buried in the monastery of N. D. de Caste, in Spain, of which he was the founder. The vacancy thus caused was filled by Philibert de Villac, a native of Berri, and grand-prior of Aquitaine.

At this time a new and redoubtable foe had sprung up in the East. Bajazet or Bayazid, a descendant of Tamerlane, had overcome in succession most of the petty sovereigns by whom he was surrounded. His ambition increasing in proportion to his successes, he commenced a

blockade of Constantinople, from whence he threatened an irruption into Hungary. He openly boasted that would push his way into Italy, where, after having planted his standard on the Capitol at Rome, he would convert the high altar at St. Peter's into a manger for his horse. The Pope, terrified by these menaces, invoked the aid of Europe, and a league was formed comprising French, Burgundians, Venetians, Hungarians, Greeks, knights of Rhodes, and the chiefs of sundry other petty principalities. The army formed by these various contingents was so numerous and powerful that it seemed impossible for Bajazet, with his wild hordes, to stand against it. The result, however, proved otherwise. Whilst they were engaged in the siege of Nicopolis, a fortress on the right bank of the Danube, Bajazet took the Christians by surprise, and after a most fiercely contested and bloody struggle, since known as the battle of Nicopolis, utterly defeated them, and dispersed the proud array. A few faithful knights of St. John, headed by their Grand-Master de Naillac, gathered round Sigismond, king of Hungary, who had been one of the leaders, and with the greatest difficulty extricated him from the field. Having gained the river Danube, the king placed him and the archbishop of Gran in a little boat which was lying under shelter of the bank, remaining themselves on shore to cover his retreat. After this they had been assured they procured another, and made good their own escape in a similar manner. Fortunately the fugitives soon encountered the combined fleet of the Hospitallers and Venetians, and were conveyed to Rhodes. Thence, after a detention of a few days, during which de Naillac entertained his royal guest with great splendour, Sigismond passed into Dalmatia.

Up to this time the career of Bajazet had been

checked by any serious reverse, and he returned to the siege of Constantinople flushed with success, and determined to make a speedy end of the enterprise. dismayed at the prospect, the Greek emperor applied for assistance to Timour-Lenk or Tamerlane, the redoubted star chief, the fame of whose exploits was even then ringing throughout the Eastern world. Timour, who was over-pleased at the prospect of so powerful a neighbour as Bajazet, entered willingly into the views of the Greeks, and assembling an army advanced against the Turkish monarch. After the capture of Sebasta, in the presence of which Ortogul, the favourite son of Bajazet, was killed, Timour encountered his enemy near the town of Angora. The result of the battle was fatal to Bajazet, his army was cut to pieces, whilst he himself fell a prisoner into the hands of his foe, and died shortly afterwards, having suffered the most cruel indignities.

The knights of Rhodes had now cause to lament the citizenship with which the Greek emperor had invoked the aid of so dangerous an ally as Timour. After having made rapid advances and with the assistance of able lieutenants secured the full results of his successes, Timour turned his eyes towards those European conquests which had excited the ambition of Bajazet. He soon perceived that one of the main outlying bulwarks of Christendom was that island fortress whose ramparts were defended by the knights of St. John. Before, however, he could attempt to crush the parent establishment, he saw that it would be necessary to deal with its offshoot at Smyrna, and he therefore led his forces in that direction. De Villac had foreseen that whatever might be the issue of the struggle between Timour and Bajazet, the victor would be sure to turn his arms against that point, and had

therefore taken every precaution for its defence. I appointed William de Mine, the grand-hospitaller, as governor, a knight in whose courage and intelligence felt he could confide, and he poured into the place large reinforcements both of men and munitions. We have an account of the siege of Smyrna from the pen of the Persian historian Sefet-el-din, and he states that “the princes of Europe had sent there many brave Christian warriors, or, to speak more plainly, a band of mad devils.”

Timour having vainly summoned the fortress to surrender, gave instructions to his generals to commence the siege without awaiting his arrival, but under their command little or no progress was made. At length he himself appeared before the town on the 6th day of the month Djémazul-Evel, 805 (the 1st December, 1402). In order to secure the immediate submission of the fortress he attacked in person, Timour had adopted a system from which he never deviated. On the first day a white flag was hoisted over his pavilion; this signified that if the town surrendered on that day the lives of its people would be spared, and the place itself preserved from pillage. On the second day a red flag was substituted; the conditions then were the death of the governor and leading inhabitants, but still with security to the masses. Should this day pass without submission, on the third morning a black flag was hoisted; this was final, and from that moment the only hope of the garrison was in a successful resistance, as the capture of the place was followed by a general massacre.

This last stage having been reached, the defenders of Smyrna knew their fate, and prepared to hold out to the last. Timour's first attempt at assault was frustrated

knights with great slaughter. Pouring upon the assailants every species of missile, including Greek fire, burning oil, seething pitch, and other similar devices, they at length succeeded in driving the Tartars back in confusion to their camp. This failure showed Timour that he was now confronted by men against whom the dashing measures he had so often successfully adopted were availing. Bold and determined though the onset might be, he was met by a foe who could die but would not yield, and against that living rampart it was vain that he hurled his choicest battalions. Taught by experience, his genius soon devised a means for meeting his opponents on a different footing.

He constructed numerous round wooden towers on the ramparts, capable of containing 200 men each. They were divided into three compartments, of which the centre one was on a level with the ramparts. The top floor was to be crowded with archers, who could look down on the assailants, and pour a destructive fire on them at the moment of assault. To the centre floor a drawbridge was attached, which, when lowered, would enable the assailants to gain the rampart. The lower compartment was filled with miners, who could penetrate the walls without danger to themselves. He at the same time constructed huge dykes, described by the Persian historian as rising three feet above the level of the water. These were lashed together and projected from the shore on each side, till they met in the centre, forming a roadway across the channel, and completely cutting off the fortress from all succour on the land side of the sea. When these various works were completed, which with the huge force at his disposal did not take long to accomplish, the unfortunate knights felt that their doom was sealed.

Everything being now ready, Timour gave the sign for the onset, and the ponderous towers moved slow towards the ramparts. Although a storm of rain poured down in incessant torrents, nothing checked the ardour the assault. Sefet states that throughout the siege the rain fell without intermission, and it seemed as though a new deluge had broken over the land. He also records with praiseworthy candour the extreme bravery of the defence. "If the attack was vigorous, the defence was not less firm, and no one was permitted a moment's repose. Although the battering-rams and other machines were dashing against the walls, they reached them even to the foundations, the defenders remained none the less brave at their posts, hurling without cessation upon the enemy pots of Greek fire and naphtha, fiery wheels, and huge stones." Timour's arrangements had been so well made that there was no probability of failure. Whilst the defenders were gallantly struggling to resist the assailants emerging from the central compartments of the towers, the miners on the lower floor were able to prosecute their labours undisturbed. Ere long huge gaps appeared in the masonry of the ramparts, and these were supported by wooden props inserted for the purpose. The timbers were well saturated with naphtha, and then on a given signal ignited. As the supports gave way, large masses of the rampart fell with a crash. With shouts of exultation the Tartars poured through the breach, and overcoming every obstacle, succeeded in planting the banner of Islam over the conquered citadel.

Timour did not on this occasion depart from the practice he invariably pursued after the display of his black flag. A universal massacre followed the termination of the conflict. A few of the inhabitants succeeded in

forcing their way to the shore, whence, by swimming, they reached a vessel cruising in the offing; but with the exception of these, all fell by the sword, and the Order of St John had on that day to mourn the loss of every one of the brave brethren to whom it had confided the defence of Smyrna.

This success led Timour to contemplate the further prosecution of his ambitious views by an early attack on Rhodes. Before, however, he could make his arrangements for the purpose, intelligence reached him of an invasion of the eastern portion of his dominions by the King of India, and he was compelled to hasten thither, in order to grapple with his new enemy. Most fortunately for the Order he did not live to return, as before he had succeeded in repelling the invasion, he died from the effects of the constant debauchery in which he was engaged. It is curious to note how, during these ages, an constantly sprang from obscurity in the East, and for a time threatened to attain almost universal dominion. Nothing, however, which they founded seemed to survive them. The guiding hand once withdrawn, the empire crumbled away, and remained in a state of disintegration, until some new ruler arose, gifted with sufficient genius to reunite the fragments.

De Naillac seized the earliest opportunity which the suspension of hostilities gave him to replace the loss of Smyrna. The point he selected was a Turkish castle on the coast of Asia Minor, about twelve miles from the island of Lango. This stronghold had been built on the ruins of Halicarnassus, celebrated as the site of the tomb of King Mausolus. Not deeming this place sufficiently secure for his purpose, de Naillac erected a new work at the end of a peninsula which jutted out into the sea. This

he called the castle of St. Peter Liberatus. It may be noted that the present Turkish name of the fortress Budrum, is derived from Bedros, signifying, like Peter the rock. Nothing was spared which the art of fortification could devise to render this stronghold impregnable, and it remains to this day an imperishable record of the skill of the engineer at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It bore on its walls this inscription, which is still clearly legible, "*Propter fidem Catholicam tenemus locum istum*". The knights seem in the building to have made free use of the material furnished by the ruins of the Mausoleum of Newton, the discoverer of those ruins, secured twelve slabs from the frieze of the monument which had been built into its walls, as well as sundry lions' heads which had been inserted in the sea face of the rampart. In his description of the fortress he says: "In the tower at the south-east corner is a room which was probably the refectory of the knights. Here, sitting in the wide bays of the windows, they beguiled the weariness of garrison life by carving their names and escutcheons on the wall." "Many hundred valiant soldiers of the Cross, unmentioned in the glorious annals of the Order, have thus been preserved from utter oblivion, for the inscriptions are as fresh as if cut yesterday. This tower was probably erected by Englishmen, as the arms of Edward IV. and of many different branches of the Plantagenet family, together with many other English coats, are sculptured in a row over the door. Scattered about the castle are the arms of its successive captains, ranging from 1437 to 1517, when the garrison surrendered to the Turks. Among these is the name of a well-known English knight, Thomas Sheffield, with the date 1514. The arms of another Englishman, John Kendal, who was Turcopole

1477-1500, may be seen under the royal arms on the tower at the south-east angle."

As soon as the fortress was sufficiently advanced to be able, de Naillac garrisoned it with a strong body of knights, and every precaution was taken to insure its security from attack. It gradually became a point of refuge for all who sought to escape from Mussulman tyranny, and the unfortunate Christian flying from every where was sure to find protection and shelter there. As to the defence a peculiar race of dogs was kept within the castle. These were so trained that they performed the part of sentinels, and by their help the guard was ever sure of an early alarm in case of danger.

At about the same time de Naillac built the tower of St. Michael at the western extremity of the main harbour of Rhodes. On its summit was an octagon lantern, whence an extensive view could be obtained. The total height of the tower, including the lantern, was 150 feet. It was blown down in the great earthquake of 1863.

De Naillac died in the year 1421, after a long and useful reign, during which he had brought the affairs of his Order to a most satisfactory condition, a result which must be attributed more to his diplomatic and general administrative abilities than to his skill in war. He was succeeded by Antonio Fluvian, a knight of the *langue* of Spain, whose reign, although it extended over a period of sixteen years, was marked by no event of great importance. He was in turn followed by John de Lastic, grand-prior of Auvergne, in the year 1437.

It has been already stated that on the death of Timour the empire fell into a state of disintegration. The four sons of Bajazet took advantage of the difficulties caused by the disputed succession to the vacant empire. By

degrees they each succeeded in wresting from the hands of the Tartars some portion of their late father's dominions. The three elder, after short and disturbed reigns, fell victims to their internecine warfare, and the younger, Mahomet I., found himself, on the death of the last, in undisputed possession of his father's territories. After a reign of eight years he was succeeded in 1421 by his son Mourad II., under whose sway the Ottoman power became even more extended than in the days of Bajazet. Had it not been for the patriotism and gallantry of Hunyadi and Scanderbeg, who from their mountain fastnesses maintained an incessant and often successful warfare against his aggressions, he would have carried his conquests still further. Amongst his other expeditions he made two attempts on the island of Rhodes during the Grand Mastership of de Lastic. The first, which took place in 1440, was repelled without even a disembarkation having been effected. At the second attempt, in 1444, a force of 18,000 men, besides cavalry, was landed on the island, and the fortress invested. The siege lasted for forty days, and was prosecuted with the utmost energy. No records, however, have been left of the details of the defence. All that is known is that several assaults were delivered in vain, and that the siege terminated with a sortie on the part of the knights, who drove the besiegers to their ships.

Mourad died in 1452, and his son was proclaimed emperor with the title of Mahomet II. In the following year he inaugurated his reign by the capture of Constantinople. The scenes which were enacted on this occasion, when the last of the Paleologi fell, form a dark page in the history of the East. The speech of Mahomet on ascending his throne, "Constantinople first, and then Rhode"

as remembered; and the knights perceived that their turn would shortly come. De Lastic, therefore, lost no time in making the necessary preparations for defence. He sent the commander D'Aubusson to the various courts of Europe to solicit such aid as the almost exhausted enthusiasm of the monarchs of Christendom might still permit them to contribute for the defence of their advanced post in the Levant. It was on this mission that D'Aubusson, whose name was destined to shed much lustre on his Order, displayed the first germs of that ability by which he was afterwards so distinguished. Although he was everywhere met with the most disappointing lukewarmness, he succeeded, by dint of perseverance, in extorting considerable sums of money from both Charles VII. of France and Philip of Burgundy. Part of this he expended in the purchase of arms, ammunition, and stores; the remainder he remitted direct to Rhodes.

Meanwhile a powerful coalition of the principal Christian nations interested in the politics of the East had induced Mahomet to postpone for awhile his hostile intentions against Rhodes, and left the Order a most welcome breathing-time in which to develop to the uttermost their powers of defence. Several changes of rulers took place in the fraternity during the interval. De Lastic died in 1454, and was followed by James de Milly, who, having died in 1461, was in his turn succeeded by Raymond de Costa, castellan of Emposta. The nomination of a Spanish knight after the rule of so many Frenchmen marks the feeling which had arisen against the pretensions of the French *langues*. The first act decreed by the council under their new chief shows the same feeling, and further demonstrates the influence of a Grand-Master in

its decisions. This was the subdivision of the *langue* Aragon, removing from it the kingdom of Portugal together with the provinces of Castile and Leon, which were formed into an eighth *langue*, to which the dignity of grand-chancellor was thenceforth attached. This compromise did much to rectify the preponderance which hitherto had been so overwhelming on the part of the French element.

Raymond took an early opportunity to erect a fort on a rock which jutted out into the sea at the extremity of the mole forming one side of the entrance to the harbor of Rhodes. The importance of this spot had long been recognized, but hitherto the want of money and the pressing demands of other parts of the fortress had prevented its being occupied. Now, however, Philip of Burgundy having made a gift of 12,000 gold crowns for the strengthening of the defences, the Grand-Master commenced the work. It received the name of fort Nicholas, from a small chapel dedicated to that saint which stood there. In the eventful sieges about to be narrated, this new stronghold became the centre of attack, and proved the wisdom of its construction.

Zacosta died in 1467, and was followed by John Orsini, grand-prior of Rome. The general summons to Rhodes which took place on his election was responded to with enthusiasm. Large numbers of knights and others interested in the welfare of the convent flocked thither to greet their new chief and to assist him in his projects of defence. Foremost amongst these was the commander D'Aubusson, whose name has been already mentioned. Eminently gifted as an engineer, and well versed in all the latest developments of the art of fortification, he was felt to be a man to whom, in the threatened crisis, all eyes

work with confidence. He was appointed captain-general and inspector of the island.

At this time war had not been declared between Mahomet and the Order, but constant skirmishes were taking place; and it was evident that before long open hostilities must break forth. In the year 1470, the spies who were maintained by the fraternity at the Ottoman court, and, if report speaks truly, even within the walls of the harem, gave timely notice that a gigantic armament was being prepared, the object of which was, as yet, a secret. It proved to be destined against the island of Negropont, which fell an easy prey to the Ottoman arms. The loss of that island would undoubtedly have been at once followed by an attack on Rhodes, but for the fact that at this critical juncture the shah of Persia declared war against the Ottoman empire, and Mahomet found himself so fully occupied on his eastern frontier, that he was compelled to postpone his projects in the Levant. During this lull Orsini died, in the year 1476, at so great an age that for a long period his rule had been little more than nominal; D'Aubusson, who had been made grand-master of Auvergne, having been in reality the director of government. It followed, therefore, naturally, that on the occurrence of the vacancy he should be raised to the place of Grand-Master.

Peter D'Aubusson was descended from the family of the counts de la Marche. He was born in 1423, his father being Renaud D'Aubusson, of Monteuil-le-Vicomte. He had served, in his earlier days, in the war between Sigismond of Hungary and the Ottomans, and on the death of that monarch had returned to France, where he was received with much approbation by Charles VII. Whilst there he took part in the war against the English, and particularly

distinguished himself in the assault on Montereau Faut yone. When peace was concluded, the young knight perceived that all prospect of further distinction in the quarter was at an end. He therefore determined to enrol himself a member of the Order of St. John. It had already been shown that the young aspirant was not long in making his name known amongst the fraternity, and in assisting, both by his sword and his talents, to forward its interests. Long before he was raised to the supreme dignity, D'Aubusson had made himself indispensable and the public confidence in him was so unbounded that all were ready to yield him the blindest obedience. When therefore, the council announced his election, the decision was greeted with acclamations, which shewed how full their choice had met with general approval.

The city of Rhodes at this time was a very different place from what it had been when torn from the hands of the infidel in the beginning of the previous century. At that period, all the grandeur of former ages had been lost and the town presented only an appearance of squalor and poverty. Now all was again changed. From the moment when Fulk de Villaret established his convent there, the knights had lavished their treasures in the development of works of defence, and also in the architectural decoration of their town. It was situated on the sea shore, at the north-eastern extremity of the island, and embraced within its circuit the two harbours, known respectively as the inner and outer port. The latter, which was sometimes called the port of the galleys, was formed by a long strip of land running in a direction nearly due north, and jutting out into the sea so as to enclose between it and the shore an anchorage sheltered from all but northerly winds. On the rock, at the extremity of this neck, stood the tow



PLAN OF THE FORTRESS OF RHODES

to illustrate the Sieges of 1480 and 1522.

- 1 Grand Masters Palace.
- 2 Church of St. John.
- 3 Hospital of St. John.
- 4 Street of the Knights.
- 5 Aniboise Gate.
- 6 St. Georges Gate.
- 7 Spanish Tower.
- 8 St. Marys Tower.
- 9 St. Johns Gate.
- 10 Italian Tower.
- 11 St. Johns Tower.
- 12 St. Michaels Tower.
- 13 Fort St. Nicholas.
- 14 Church of St. Anthony.
- 15 St. Stephens Hill.
- 16 St. Pauls Gate.
- 17 St. Catherines Gate.

St. Nicholas, the first object which greeted the pilot on leaving the shores of Rhodes, and justly considered the most important point of defence after the palace of the Grand-Master, which formed the citadel. Its position, surrounded almost entirely by the sea, rendered it difficult of attack under any circumstances, whilst from sudden surprise it was practically secure. The inner port was enclosed by two moles, running respectively in a northerly and easterly direction, and embracing within their shelter an expanse of water partaking somewhat of the geometric form of a sector. At the extremities of these moles stood the two towers of St. Michael and St. John. These two works, together with that of St. Nicholas, constituted the principal defence of the sea front.

The land works consisted of a rampart and ditch, the former in some parts strengthened by a *faussebraye*. The *treplein* was 40 feet wide, and the ditch from 40 to 60 feet deep and from 90 to 140 feet wide. The line was flanked by numerous square towers at intervals. There were also five more important projecting points, covered with outworks, and partaking of the character of bastions. Commencing at the south-west, or Jews' quarter, these were respectively the towers of Italy, St. John, St. Mary, Spain, and St. George. The line from the latter point ran northward till it reached the Grand-Master's palace. Thence it turned at right angles eastward, up to the foot of the mole of St. Nicholas. The sea face, constituting the inner line of the harbour, was also protected by a rampart, but without any ditch. The town thus encircled formed a crescent, of which an inner line, running due east and west, cut off the upper part. Within this trenchment dwelt the aristocracy of Rhodes. Here were the various *auberges* of the *langues*, the Hospital, the

conventual church, and the Grand-Master's palace. The latter was enclosed in a further line of retrenchment, and with its gardens, occupied a large space at the north-west corner of the town. It was entered by a separate gate and dominated the whole of its surroundings. Two gates led into the lower town from the land side, called respectively the gates of St. George and St. John. The Jews dwelt in a quarter set apart for them in the south-east corner, where they were covered by the ramparts of Italy.

From the time of Zacosta the defence of the line of works had been allotted amongst the different *langues* as follows:—From the foot of the mole of St. Nicholas to the Grand-Master's palace was in charge of France; thence to the gate of St. George was held by Germany; Auvergne was posted between that gate and the Spanish tower; England between the Spanish tower and that of St. Mary, of which they only defended the lower story, the upper part being held by Aragon, as was the line up to the gate of St. John; from that gate to the tower of Italy was held by Provence, the sea face closing the circuit being in charge, one half of Italy and the other half of Castile. The palace itself was held by force composed of members of all the *langues*, it being considered the post of honour.

The amazing fertility of the island had converted the country outside the walls into one vast garden. Far as the eye could reach there appeared on every side fields, groves, and orchards, whilst from the summit of St. Stephen's hill, which overlooked the town on the western side, the land stretched away in a gradual descent to the foot of the ramparts. This slope was broken by hillocks and undulations, giving life and variety to the landscape. Here and there the ground was dotted with chapels, summer

uses, and other rustic buildings, very picturesque, but highly detrimental to the defence. D'Aubusson had exerted his power with no sparing hand to sweep away the most dangerous of these buildings; still much remained to afford cover to the enemy. To quote Merry Dupuis, a member of the Order, who, although not present at the siege, arrived at Rhodes immediately afterwards, and wrote the history of it from the statements of the principal actors: "around the city of Rhodes lay the most admirable country in the world for carrying on a siege, for all around the said town were numerous gardens filled with little churches and Greek chapels, with old walls and stones and rocks, behind which cover could always be found against the garrison to such an extent that if all the artillery in the world had been inside the town it could do no harm to those that were without, provided they did not approach too close." Such were the town and island, which, after being kept for a space of nearly forty years in a state of perturbation and alarm, were destined to witness at length the storm of invasion break over them. Whilst the knights were preparing themselves for the conflict, Mahomet, in order to blind them to the imminence of their danger, determined to submit to the Grand-Master proposals of peace. For this purpose he selected as a combined envoy and spy a renegade Greek who, on the capture of his native island of Eubœa by the Turks, had embraced Islamism in the hope of bettering his fortunes. Demetrius Sophiano possessed all the cunning of his race, and had often proved himself a valuable agent in the hands of his new employer. In matters of diplomacy, however, Mahomet had, in D'Aubusson, to deal with one who was fully his equal in the art, and whose extensive system of espial had made him well

acquainted with what was projected. Feeling that short truce would give time for such last reinforcements to arrive as were still lingering on the way, he yielded a ready assent to the proposals of Demetrius, suggesting that as he could not conclude a treaty without the sanction of the Pope, a temporary truce only should be established pending a reference to Rome. This proposal was accepted by Mahomet, who thought he had succeeded in throwing the enemy off his guard, and was only undeceived when he found that D'Aubusson was taking advantage of the delay to complete his preparations for defence.

Demetrius was not the only tool in the hands of Mahomet. In fact, a man who, like the Ottoman sultan, ruled over an empire to which fresh additions were constantly being made, must have found frequent occasions for the service of traitors, and as ample remuneration awaited the successful informer, there were never wanting those who had that to sell which it was his interest to buy. His intention of attacking the island of Rhodes upon the first favourable opportunity had become so widely known that accurate information as to its defences was understood to be a highly marketable commodity; all persons, therefore, who were possessed of such hurried to Constantinople. Among these was Antonio Meligala, a Rhodian, who, having dissipated his patrimony, sought to restore his ruined fortunes by taking service with the Turk. He carried with him a very accurate plan of the fortress, for which, doubtless, he was amply rewarded, though he did not long enjoy the fruits of his treachery, as he died on board a galley whilst accompanying the Turkish army to the scene of attack.

Another and far more gifted traitor presented himself in the person of Georges Frapant, commonly called Ma-

orges. This man was by birth a German, and had been trained as an engineer, in which science he attained great skill. He has been described by friends and enemies alike as endowed with marvellous genius. Caoursin calls him a man of the most subtle ingenuity, whilst the great soldier Merry Dupuis, after recording of him that he was a most excellent director of artillery, proceeds to dwell on his personal advantages as "a fine fellow, well formed in all his limbs, and of a lofty stature, with great fluency of language, being both willing and entertaining." It is very evident that Maître Georges was no ordinary man, and the admirer of genius must regret the misapplied powers and perverted energies of this gifted renegade. The plans which this trio of traitors submitted to Mehmet were so tempting that he at length decided to carry out his long-cherished design. The chief command of the forces was intrusted to a fourth renegade, a Greek, of the imperial house of Paleologus, named Messih, who held the rank of Capoudan Pasha. This man had been present at the capture of Constantinople; to save his life he had become a Moslem, and taken service under Mehmet, rapidly gaining honour and advancement. Like all renegades, he showed the utmost zeal in persecuting those of his former faith, and the knights of Rhodes, in particular, been distinguished by his bitterest animosity. It was finally arranged that early in the ensuing spring the bulk of the army was to march across from a Minor to the port of Phineka, a commodious harbour about forty miles to the eastward of Rhodes. The artillery and heavy stores were to proceed to the same spot from Constantinople by sea. The pasha, with his fleet, was to meet at the place of rendezvous at the appointed time, whence he was to make his grand descent upon the point of attack.

Whilst preparations were thus going on at Constantinople, the knights were on their side taking every measure to insure the success of their defence. Not only members of the Order, but numbers of others, knights and simple soldiers, crowded to the scene of the coming struggle. The gallant heart of D'Aubusson was gladdened by the constant arrival of welcome additions to his strength, comprising as they did some of the noblest names in Europe. Amongst them was his eldest brother, the viscount de Monteuil, who, at the head of a considerable body of retainers, volunteered his services at this crisis. He was at once elected to the post of captain-general, in which capacity he did knightly service under the command of his younger brother.

One measure was still considered necessary by the council, and that was to remove temporarily from the powers of D'Aubusson those checks and restrictions with which the jealousy of preceding ages had fettered the Grand-Mastership. Now that they were led by one whom they had such unbounded confidence, and when the crisis required that he should act with promptitude and energy, they unanimously agreed to free him from all control, and to grant him unlimited authority till the troublous hour should have passed away. D'Aubusson was at first unwilling to accept the undivided responsibility thus imposed upon him; but his reluctance was overcome, and when the council broke up it was announced to the citizens that from that moment he was their sole and autocratic chief. Never was authority vested in hands more capable of exercising it wisely, nor the confidence with which he was universally regarded more signally justified by the result.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST SIEGE OF RHODES IN 1480.

Arrival of the Turkish army before Rhodes—First attack on fort St. Nicholas—Its failure—Breach opened in the Jews' quarter—Attempted assassination of the Grand-Master—Second attack on St. Nicholas, and its failure—Second advance on the Jews' quarter—Execution of Maître Georges—Last assault of the Turks and its repulse—Close of the siege—List of English knights present—Losses of the Turkish army.

On the 23rd May, 1480, the Turkish army, numbering 70,000 men (some accounts say 100,000), convoyed by a fleet of 160 large vessels, appeared off the shores of Rhodes. The warnings which had been received enabled the knights to make every preparation for the event. The country inhabitants had all taken refuge within the town, whither their property had been conveyed. Nothing capable of removal was left to become the spoil of the invaders; even the unripe corn was cut and carried away. The Turks disembarked in the bay of Trianda, on the north-west side of the island, and encamped on the slope of St. Stephen's Hill. The next day the pasha despatched a herald to summon the town to surrender. He knew well that the demand would be rejected by the knights, but hoped to allure the Greek inhabitants by promising them an amnesty and an increase of privileges. The Rhodians, however, preferred to stake their all on the fortunes of the

Order to accepting the offers of Paleologus, and neither then, nor at any subsequent time, did they waver in the allegiance.

As soon as a reply in the negative had been received the Turks began to push forward reconnoissances in front of the walls. It suited neither the policy of D'Aubussin nor the temper of his troops to permit these approaches to be unchecked. A sortie was consequently made with a body of cavalry, led by the viscount de Monteuil, and the enemy driven back to their camps, in which affair Demetrius Sophiano, the second of the three traitors, met his end, having been trampled to death in the mêlée. Meanwhile the pasha had been in consultation with Maître Georges as to the point he should select for the attack. That worthy, whose keen eye grasped the importance of the tower of St. Nicholas, suggested that the whole weight of the besieging force should be thrown against it. A battery was therefore commenced within the gardens of the church of St. Anthony, at a distance of about 300 yards from the walls. The knights, anxious to impede the work, opened an enfilading fire on the rising battery from guns which stood on the north side of the Grand-Master's palace. In spite, however, of all obstructions, and in face of a large loss in men, the work steadily grew, and at length three of the pasha's great basilisks were mounted behind the embrasures. These basilisks, of which sixteen were brought from the arsenal of Constantinople, had been commanded under the direction of that most useful of men, Maître Georges. They were of such stupendous dimensions that their very appearance might well spread dismay in the garrison. In those early days of artillery the calibre of guns was enormous, the projectiles being generally of stone; only a little powder was used; the range was

consequently but limited. The effect required was gained either by the weight of the projectile than by the impetus. In the present case, although the walls were solid, they were incapable of withstanding the huge missiles hurled against them by Maître Georges, and before long a wide breach was established on the western face of the tower. Whilst this battering was in progress an incident occurred which materially affected the fortunes of the wily German. In pursuance of a plan laid down between Heleologus and himself, Maître Georges presented himself one morning before the gates, and besought admission into the town as a deserter. Taken before D'Aubusson, he averred that although he had been for many years in the service of the sultan his conscience would no longer permit him to assist in any further designs against the fraternity, and he had therefore resolved on seeking shelter within the fortress. D'Aubusson had had too many dealings with scoundrels as plausible as Maître Georges to give a ready credence to this tale of remorse. He knew too well that the day was passed when men made such sacrifices for their religion. He also knew what a fearful risk Maître Georges would run, if really a deserter, should he fall once more into the hands of the Turks. The probabilities seemed to him, therefore, that the man was acting in collusion with the foe. Treachery, however, if treachery there were, was best encountered by dissimulation, and he determined to glean what information he could from the German without trusting him in any way that could be utilized by the enemy. Maître Georges was welcomed as cordially as though no suspicions had been aroused, but he soon discovered that there were those in his train whose sole duty appeared to be to watch his every movement. One or two abortive attempts to search out the weak points in the defence soon taught him that any

further efforts in that direction would inevitably lead to destruction. In fact, D'Aubusson completely foiled the designs, and if he did not prove of much use to the defenders, he was at all events prevented from assisting in any way the besiegers.

Meanwhile, the battery in St. Anthony's garden had been hard at work, and the mass of rubbish daily increasing at the foot of St. Nicholas tower showed D'Aubusson that unless speedy precautions were taken the post would be lost. He therefore concentrated on that spot every obstacle his ingenuity could devise to impede the operation of an assault. Taking advantage of the mass of masonry which had been dislodged, he with his own hands threw up a new defence across the mole. Small batteries were established wherever they could sweep the approach to the breach, whilst in the shallow water of the harbour near the shore he sank numerous planks studded with sharp-pointed nails, to obstruct the enemy in any attempt at wading across. Having made all his preparations, he calmly awaited the onset.

On the morning of the 9th of June, at daybreak, the alarm was given, and a large fleet of the enemy's light craft, laden with men, was seen bearing down on the fort. The men were landed, some on the mole and some on the rocks, and at once rushed with loud shouts at the breach, endeavouring to carry the work by a *coup de main*. Conspicuous on the summit stood D'Aubusson, arrayed in all the panoply of his rank, and around him was gathered the flower of that chivalry from which the Turk had often before been forced to recoil. Anxiously was the struggle watched by both friend and foe on the mainland. The battlements overlooking the harbour were crowded with citizens eager to mark the progress of the

y, whilst on the brow of St. Stephen's hill stood leologus himself, filled with the keen excitement natural one to whom success would be everything, and failure addition. Amid the clouds of smoke and dust but little d be made out. Every now and then, as a passing gust wind raised the dark veil for a moment, that noble d of knights might be distinguished, reduced indeed strength, but still standing unsubdued and in proud stance, whilst the ruins were covered with the bodies of slain. That same glimpse would also show the slems, undaunted by opposition, still swarming up the od-stained pathway, striving by the sheer weight of mbers to surmount the obstacle which had already ved fatal to so many of their comrades.

Throughout this eventful day D'Aubusson retained i post. Utterly regardless of himself, he was to be d wherever the fight was thickest or support most ed. His exposure of himself was indeed so reckless so call forth the earnest remonstrances of his friends ; u his impetuosity was not to be restrained. At last, llst the fate of the struggle seemed still uncertain, the rison brought some fire-ships to bear on the galleys of a Turks. The attempt was successful ; several caught r, and the remainder, to avoid a similar fate, were pelled to retire. When this was seen, the defenders t. Nicholas made a vigorous dash at the breach ; the ers were overturned, and such of the enemy as had e good their footing on the summit hurled headlong s base. The flanking batteries were all this time ring a destructive fire on the confused and disordered s which stood huddled on the rocks. Many of the ers had fallen, their fleet had abandoned them, and e themselves were being mown down by the deadly

fire from the ramparts. Is it surprising that under such an accumulation of obstacles they should at length give way? The mass of slain with which the breach was covered bore testimony to the obstinacy and determination of the assault; but the resistance of the defenders had proved too powerful for them, and at length they sought safety in flight. The terror of the fire-ships had been so great that but few boats remained to carry off the fugitives. Many were drowned in the attempt to cross to the mainland, and the survivors were borne away crest-fallen and humiliated, from the scene of strife. The feelings of the pasha, as from the summit of St. Stephen's hill he witnessed the untoward conclusion of the fray, were far from enviable. His troops had been taught to consider themselves invincible, but they now learnt their error at a grievous cost. Seven hundred corpses lay stretched on the mole and breach. The pasha obtained a short truce to remove and bury them. A long trench was dug near the garden of St. Anthony, on the western shore of the port, where they were all laid. This trench has been recently discovered, and the bones still found there taken to the adjoining cemetery.

Paleologus was not the man to despair at a first failure; he was, therefore, speedily at work devising a new attack. Conceiving that the knights were probably exhausting their resources in the defence of St. Nicholas, he determined to break ground on a fresh point, where he trusted to find a less obstinate resistance. When D'Aubusson was returning thanks for the glorious success of the preceding day in a triumphal procession, the pasha was moving his heavy battering train to the southern side of the city. The Jews' quarter was selected as the next object of attack. The ramparts at this point were

extreme thickness, but also of great age, and therefore but ill-suited to resist any very severe battering. Wishing to distract the garrison, Paleologus did not confine his efforts to this spot, but at the same time opened fire against the tower of St. Mary on the one side, and that of St. Italy on the other. He also commenced a general bombardment. From the huge mortars which formed part of his siege train he hurled into the town gigantic fragments of rock and other destructive missiles; lighted combustibles and other combustible ingredients were also made use of, in the hope of causing a conflagration. Against these dangers D'Aubusson's genius was ever ready to provide a remedy. He created a cover for such of the inhabitants as were not required for the defence, by the erection of large sheds, with sloping sides, built against the interior of the ramparts on such sites as were best protected from fire; others found shelter in the vaults of churches and similar places of security: so that the pasha gained but little by his vast expenditure of ammunition. True it is, as Merry Dupuis records, that one shot struck the roof of the Grand-Master's palace, and, descending through the floor into the cellar, destroyed a cask-head of wine. The waste of the good liquor seems to have impressed the simple-minded soldier more than the damage to the building; but if the casualties were confined to such losses as these, the pasha might as well have economized his powder. The roar of the bombardment was so loud that it could be heard in the island of Lango on the one side, and in that of Château Roux on the other.

The state of the rampart in front of the Jews' quarter soon became such as to render prompt measures necessary. D'Aubusson therefore traced the line for a retrenchment

in rear of the weakened spot. With this object levelled the houses in the proposed line, and built a brick wall, supported by an earthen rampart with a deep ditch sunk in front. The work was pushed forward with incredible rapidity. The Grand-Master himself set the example by taking his turn at the manual labour, handling the pick and shovel with the utmost vigour. The effect of this good example was not lost. Not only did the knights and upper classes amongst the Rhodians assist vigorously, but also the women and children. All joined in the universal enthusiasm, and performed the tasks of ordinary labourers. The result showed itself in the rapid elevation of a new barrier, encircling the portion of the Jews' rampart which the pasha's batteries had demolished, thus rendering futile all his efforts.

Up to this time Paleologus had conducted the siege in an open and legitimate manner. Now, however, perceiving that the resistance he was encountering was greatly due to the personal energy of D'Aubusson, he bethought him of removing his antagonist by the dagger of the assassin. To carry out this nefarious design, he entered into negotiations with two deserters from the town, one a Dalmatian, and the other an Albanian. Whilst concocting his scheme with these wretches, a despatch was stated to have arrived from Constantinople in which he was informed that the sultan himself was about to appear on the scene, with a reinforcement of 100,000 men and a new park of artillery. This was utterly false; still it attained its object in greatly raising the enthusiasm of the besiegers. Armed with this intelligence, the two deserters presented themselves before the gates with a plausible tale of having been captured during a sortie, and of having only just succeeded in

making their escape. The story met with ready credence, and they were welcomed back into the town with the warmest congratulations.

Their first step was to spread the news of the expected arrival of the sultan with overwhelming reinforcements, creating naturally the utmost dismay amongst the defenders. Certain knights of the Italian and Spanish *langues* were so much impressed with the fear of such an event that they formed a cabal to press upon the Grand-Master the necessity of surrender before the arrival of Mahomet. With this view they secured the co-operation of one of the secretaries, an Italian named Filelfo. As soon as the matter came to the ears of D'Aubusson he summoned the culcontents into his presence, and informed them that they had his permission to leave the town, and that he would himself secure their safe retreat. "But," added he, "if you remain with us, speak no more of surrender, and rest assured that if you do you shall meet the fate you so justly merit." This speech had the desired effect; the recreants threw themselves at his feet, and implored him to give them an early opportunity of redeeming their characters in the face of the enemy.

Filelfo soon discovered that his master's confidence was withdrawn from him, and he was in consequence greatly distressed. One of the deserters who had some acquaintance with him imagined that he was now probably in a mood when he might be rendered subservient to his scheme. Gradually and cautiously he endeavoured to excite the Italian's resentment at his treatment, and when he thought that he had succeeded in his object he unfolded the plot, making the most brilliant offers, in guarantee of which he showed the secretary letters from the pasha.

Filelfo pretended to fall in with the views of the

deserters, and as soon as he had discovered everything he at once revealed the whole conspiracy to his master. The would-be assassins were immediately arrested, and, after trial, sentenced to death. The excitement and indignation of the populace were, however, so great that they rushed on the criminals and tore them in pieces without waiting for the action of the law.

Foiled in his attempt at assassination, Paleologus once more had recourse to legitimate warfare. Disheartened at the ill-success of his efforts against the Jews' quarter, he returned to his original point of attack, the tower of St Nicholas. To facilitate the approach of his assaulting columns, he constructed a large floating bridge, intended to stretch from the point in front of the church of St Anthony to the rocks at the base of the fort, and wide enough to admit of six men advancing abreast. Under cover of the night a Turk had succeeded in fixing an anchor beneath the surface at the extremity of the mole to the ring of which he secured a rope, with which to warp the bridge across the water. This operation had been witnessed by an English sailor called Roger Gervase (probably Jervis), and he, as soon as the coast was clear, detached the rope and removed the anchor, carrying it in triumph to the Grand-Master. D'Aubusson was so pleased with the promptitude of the gallant tar that he rewarded him with the gift of 200 crowns.

The night of the 19th June was selected by the Turk for the assault, and at midnight the various detachments were set in motion. It had been arranged that, whilst the bridge was being hauled into position, a large body of troops should be shipped on board some of the small craft and make a dash at the tower, hoping to take the garrison by surprise. The incident of the anchor had

however, forewarned D'Aubusson that the moment of assault was at hand. Everything, therefore, that prudence could suggest, or engineering skill devise, had been done to meet the shock. Through the darkness of the night keen eyes were peering in silent watchfulness on the crest of the breach, with a vigilance the Turk could not elude. The first strain on the rope with which the pasha had intended to warp his bridge across showed that the device had been discovered, and the besiegers were thus brought to a sudden standstill. Unwilling to waste all the preparations he had made, Paleologus decided, in spite of this failure, to proceed with the attack. He ordered that the head of the bridge should be towed across, and whilst this slow operation was being carried out he gave the signal for the advance of the troops already embarked in the boats. Their approach was at once discovered by the garrison, the alarm given, and a murderous fire opened on them from all sides. Secrecy being at an end, the boats dashed forward, and on reaching the rocks the troops jumped out and rushed at the breach.

The struggle was carried on with obstinacy and determination, but in the darkness little could be distinguished. The scene was fitfully lighted up by the flashes of artillery, whilst the lurid glare shed around by the Greek fire which was poured on the assailants added terror to the picture. Amid the roar of guns, the clashing of arms, the shouts of the combatants, and the cries of the wounded, the strife continued with unabated violence, presenting a scene of terrible excitement to those who were looking on. As though to add to the horrors of the night, the fire-ships were once more let loose on the enemy's fleet, towards which they drifted in a column of flame, bearing panic and confusion in their course. The early light of a

summer's dawn began to show itself before success had declared for either side. Guided, however, by the gradually increasing light, D'Aubusson's gunners were enabled to direct their fire with greater precision, and speedily destroyed the bridge which had been of so much use in bringing up the Turkish supports. They also succeeded in sinking four of the galleys, which, in spite of the fire-ships, were hovering round the point of assault. Throughout the night the principal leader of the Turks had been a young prince named Ibrahim, closely related to the sultan, with whom he was a great favourite. The daring he had displayed had done much to sustain the vigour of the assailants, and, although severely wounded, he still kept his post. At this critical juncture, when his followers were beginning to quail, he was struck down by a shot. His death decided the fortunes of the day; the breach was abandoned, and the harbour once more covered with drowning men, who found a watery grave, the only alternative to the avenging swords of the knights.

The loss of the Turks on this occasion was between 2,000 and 3,000, amongst whom were some of the best officers in their army. The impression made on the survivors by this second failure was so dispiriting as to render the pasha's prospects of success somewhat problematical. He was so dismayed by the untoward event of the night that he shut himself up in his tent for three days, refusing to see any one. D'Aubusson availed himself of this respite to clear the mole of the mass of slain with which it was crowded. Rare pillage was there for his troops amidst that heap of Moslems whose gold and silver ornaments were a lordly recompense to the hardy warriors who had stood their ground so well.

After three days' seclusion, Paleologus recovered his unanimity, and decided on a still more vigorous prosecution of the siege. Abandoning all further attempts upon the tower of St. Nicholas, he returned to the south side of the city, and commenced constructing a battery on the edge of the counterscarp opposite the retrenchment in the Jews' quarter. Here was an opportunity for the disgraced knights of Italy and Spain to recover their fair fame. By means of a ladder they entered the ditch at dead of night, and thence in silence climbed the counterscarp with ladders, and rushed into the unfinished battery. The Turks, taken by surprise, offered little or no resistance, and the struggle, which was rather a massacre than a fight, was soon over, the assailants remaining masters of the battery. The gabions and other woodwork were set on fire, the battery destroyed, and the gallant little band returned in triumph to the town. This brilliant episode restored its actors to the good graces of D'Aubusson, who felt that he need have no further to say for on their account.

The pasha was taught by this incident that against such experienced foes he could not with impunity neglect any of the orthodox precautions of advance: conducting his approach, therefore, on a more methodical and scientific system, he steadily regained the point from which he had been ejected. Thence he drove galleries underground through the counterscarp, and poured *débris* into the ditch, which was gradually to form an embankment across it to the rampart. The resources of D'Aubusson were taxed to the uttermost to devise means for resisting this new method of approach. In the dilemma he bethought him of Maître

Georges. Mysterious notes had more than once been shot into the town on arrows, warning the knights to beware of the German. Opinions were divided as to the object of these missives, some regarding them as spiteful attacks upon the deserter, whilst others, among whom was the Grand-Master, looked on them as an act of cunning on the part of the pasha to secure favour for his spy by an apparent display of animosity.

Whatever his private opinion, D'Aubusson determined on the present occasion to avail himself as far as possible of the engineering skill of Maître George. He was not, however, successful. The German was very reticent and desponding; his suggestions were few, and those manifestly useless. His obvious reluctance to aid the defence strengthened the suspicion which were afloat, and rendered a fresh scrutiny into his conduct advisable. Summoned before the council he prevaricated, hesitated, and eventually contradicted himself in so many important particulars that he was subjected to torture. Under this pressure a confession was extracted from him that he had entered the town with traitorous intent. Although a certain cloud of mystery undoubtedly hangs over the conduct of Maître Georges, a confession extracted by torture not being very trustworthy, still there was that in his history and previous conduct which renders it probable he was really guilty. On the following day he was hanged in the public square in sight of an applauding crowd; and thus perished the last of the trio of renegades by whom Mahomet had been induced to make his attack upon the Order of St. John.

The hanging of the traitor could be no protection against the cannon thundering at the rampart or the

assault threatening at the breach, and D'Aubusson did not confine himself to that measure. To harass the enemy in their trenches, a large wooden catapult was constructed, which threw huge pieces of rock into the covered ways and batteries. These fragments were so heavy that they crushed in the blindages which the Turks had erected for shelter, and, as Dupuis has recorded, "some Turk or other always remained dead under the weight." Whilst this effective machine was at work, the defenders were also carrying on a little subterranean strategy. Driving galleries beneath the reach, they made openings into the ditch, through which they gradually carried away much of the stone with which it was being filled, utilizing the material for the strengthening of their retrenchment. The work was prosecuted so briskly under cover of the night that the bulk of the filling, which the Turks had with so much labour deposited in the ditch, began to shrink perceptibly. The pasha therefore perceived that unless he delivered an assault speedily, the road by which he hoped to cross would be carried away.

Previous to making his great attempt, which recent experience had taught him must cost him dear, he thought it desirable to try and secure a capitulation. A parley was demanded, to which the Grand-Master consented, in order to gain time for the further strengthening of his retrenchments. At the appointed hour the Turkish envoy, Soliman Bey, made his appearance on the counterscarp opposite the breach. D'Aubusson had appointed Anthony Gaultier, the castellan of Rhodes, to be his representative; and as the breadth of the ditch separated the negotiators, the conference was quite public. It was opened by the Turk,

who, after having paid a tribute to the gallantry of the defence, urged upon the knights the propriety of immediate surrender. "The breach in your wall is gaping wide," said he, "and invites our attacking columns; 40,000 of the best troops in the empire are eagerly awaiting the moment which is to give you over into their power. Yield yourselves to the clemency of our sovereign, become his allies, and your lives shall be spared and your property protected. If you refuse, your lives will be forfeited, your wives and daughters dishonoured, and your children sold into slavery. Such is the fate of those who persist in opposing the mighty Mahomet. Choose, therefore, whether you will be his friends or his victims." This speech, well calculated to create a panic among the people, Gaultier replied in terms of proud disdain. He assured the envoy that he was mistaken in supposing the town incapable of further resistance. It was true the ramparts were breached, but they were well retrenched, and the assailants would again meet the same fate that had already twice befallen them at St. Nicholas. Let them make their boasted assault without further parley; they would find the garrison ready to receive them, trusting in God to defend them to the right.

This bold reply taught Paleologus that he had nothing to gain by negotiation, and the audacity of the challenge with which it had concluded aroused his most lively indignation. An immediate assault was therefore ordered. To stimulate his soldiers he promised them the entire booty of the town; and success was so assured that sacks were made in which to carry off the anticipated pillage, stakes were prepared on which the knights were to be impaled, and

Each soldier carried at his waist a bundle of cords with which to secure his prisoners. Everything being thus arranged, the signal for the onset was awaited with impatience. A tremendous fire was opened from every gun which could be brought to bear on the breach or adjacent parts. This bombardment was so effective that the defenders were driven from the ramparts. During the night the assaulting columns were silently moved into their places, the roar of artillery continuing with unabated violence. The garrison were not aware of what was taking place, and no extra precautions were adopted to resist the impending storm.

About an hour after sunrise, on the 27th July, the signal was given, and a rush was made on several points of the enceinte at the same moment, the main effort being concentrated upon the breach in the Jews' quarter. Quailing beneath the pitiless shower of iron and stone poured on them during the bombardment, the defenders of the rampart had gradually been driven to seek shelter; when, therefore, the assailants dashed through the breach they found no one to resist their onset. In a short time, and before the alarm had been given in the town, the standard of the Moslem was waving on the crest of the parapet, and the Turks were pouring in a countless throng through the undefended gap. In this disastrous conjuncture a sudden panic seems to have overtaken every one. Men ran to and fro, in their dismay scarce knowing where to bend their steps, or how to resist the storm thus burst upon them. A few moments more of this perilous confusion and all must have been lost. Providentially, D'Aubusson, ever watchful and ever at hand, rushed promptly to the scene of contest. His presence instantly reanimated his followers, and restored order and decision where but a moment before

all had quailed with dismay. With lightning speed it dashed at the rampart ; its summit could only be reached from within by ladders, and the first to ascend, sword in hand, was the Grand-Master himself.

Now might be seen the unusual spectacle of the besieged converted into assailants, and endeavouring to recover the escalade the rampart taken by the enemy. Twice did D'Aubusson attempt the ascent, and twice was he hurled from the ladder, each time severely wounded. Again did he renew the effort ; his knights, he felt, must recover the lost ground or all was over. Better to die on the breach than survive the capture of his stronghold. The third time he made good his footing on the wall, where, being speedily joined by numerous comrades, the fight became more equal. The mere numbers of the Turks acted prejudicially to them ; they were so crowded on the rampart that they were unable to move with vigour, and, swaying to and fro before the fierce attack of the knights were gradually driven back over the breach. The pasha on this despatched a body of janissaries to support the waverers. D'Aubusson was easily recognized in the throng, and Paleologus, who knew that he was the life of the defence, told off a body of chosen men to make a special attack upon the hero so conspicuous at the head of his gallant band. Clearing for themselves a passage through the mass of combatants, they succeeded in reaching the spot where D'Aubusson stood. Hemmed in though he was by these new foes, he yielded not a step, but maintained the unequal strife with undaunted energy. His desperate situation was soon seen by his brothers-in-arms. A rush was made to the rescue, the janissaries driven back, and D'Aubusson extricated from his perilous position. Unfortunately, before this aid arrived he had received three new and most grievous wounds.

Ere he was borne from the field he had the satisfaction seeing the enemy driven back over the breach, and his valorous knights pursuing them at the point of the sword. This, in fact, was the turning-point of the struggle. The panic, once established, spread amongst the infidels with a rapidity which their disorganized condition rendered fatal, and, flying from their pursuers, they found all egress blocked by the masses crowded on the spot. In this predicament friend fared as ill as foe, and the most eager of the fugitives hewed for themselves a pathway to safety by the indiscriminate slaughter of their comrades. Numbers were hurled from the ramparts to the town, a fall of twenty feet, and were instantly massacred by the infuriated inhabitants. Meanwhile a deadly fire had been kept up from every available point upon the dense crowd huddled on the breach; and as at that short range every shot told, the slaughter was immense. The struggle had now degenerated into a massacre. Chased by their excited enemy, the Turks were mown down without the slightest attempt at resistance. Safety was not to be found even in their camp; they were driven from thence in headlong confusion, the great banner of Paleologus, which was planted in front of his pavilion, falling into the hands of the victors.

All was now over. The troops of the pasha were hurried on board the galleys, and Rhodes was saved. Meanwhile, Peter D'Aubusson, the hero of the hour, lay in his magisterial palace, unconscious of his well-earned triumph, prostrated by five severe wounds, one of which the physicians had pronounced mortal.

The embarkation of the discomfited Moslems was witnessed by the worn-out garrison with feelings of the most lively satisfaction; and the inhabitants of the

country, having been cooped up in the town for two months, were overjoyed at being once more free to return to their homes. Vast numbers of dead had been laid strewn on the plain, and the first step necessary for general safety was to remove these ghastly relics of the siege. The corpses were gathered into huge piles, and burnt; the women indulging, as Dupuis records, in a little jocosity on the occasion by remarking that the Turks were like the *beccafichi* or ortolans, and had become plump from the quantity of figs they had eaten. The universal joy was much increased when it became known that the Grand-Master was likely to recover; and when after the lapse of a few weeks, he was so far restored as to be present in person at the laying of the first stone of the church to celebrate the defence, their satisfaction was complete. This church was built at the extreme eastern horn of the crescent formed by the town; it was dedicated to Notre Dame de la Victoire, and still exists.

The successful defence of Rhodes must be attributed almost entirely to Peter D'Aubusson. His was the master spirit that had guided every effort, his the eagle-eye that ever comprehended at a glance the exigencies of the situation, his the fertile brain whence issued those schemes and devices by which the designs of the enemy were invariably frustrated. He had throughout been the life and soul of the garrison—at one moment directing the construction of some new defence, at another wielding his sword in the thickest of the fight; now providing for the security of the defenceless inhabitants, and then again overawing the wavering. To each and every one he was the guide and the support. Well was it for all that not until he had struck the death-blow at his antagonist did he himself succumb. The news of the success was received

h enthusiasm throughout Europe. The imminence of the danger once past, men began to realize its extent. Had the Ottoman standard been planted on the ramparts of Rhodes, the way to Italy would have been open, and Bajazet's threat that it should wave over the Capitol of Rome might probably have been carried into effect. The pope was now rescued from his peril, and was in consequence loud in expressions of gratitude to his deliverer, whom he gave the high-sounding title of "Buckler of Christianity."

It is much to be regretted that no record has been kept of the strength of the garrison during the siege, or of the names or even the number of the killed. The archives only mention those who held official positions—a very small number out of the total who were present. The following names of Englishmen have been traced, but they probably form but a portion of those who were there:—

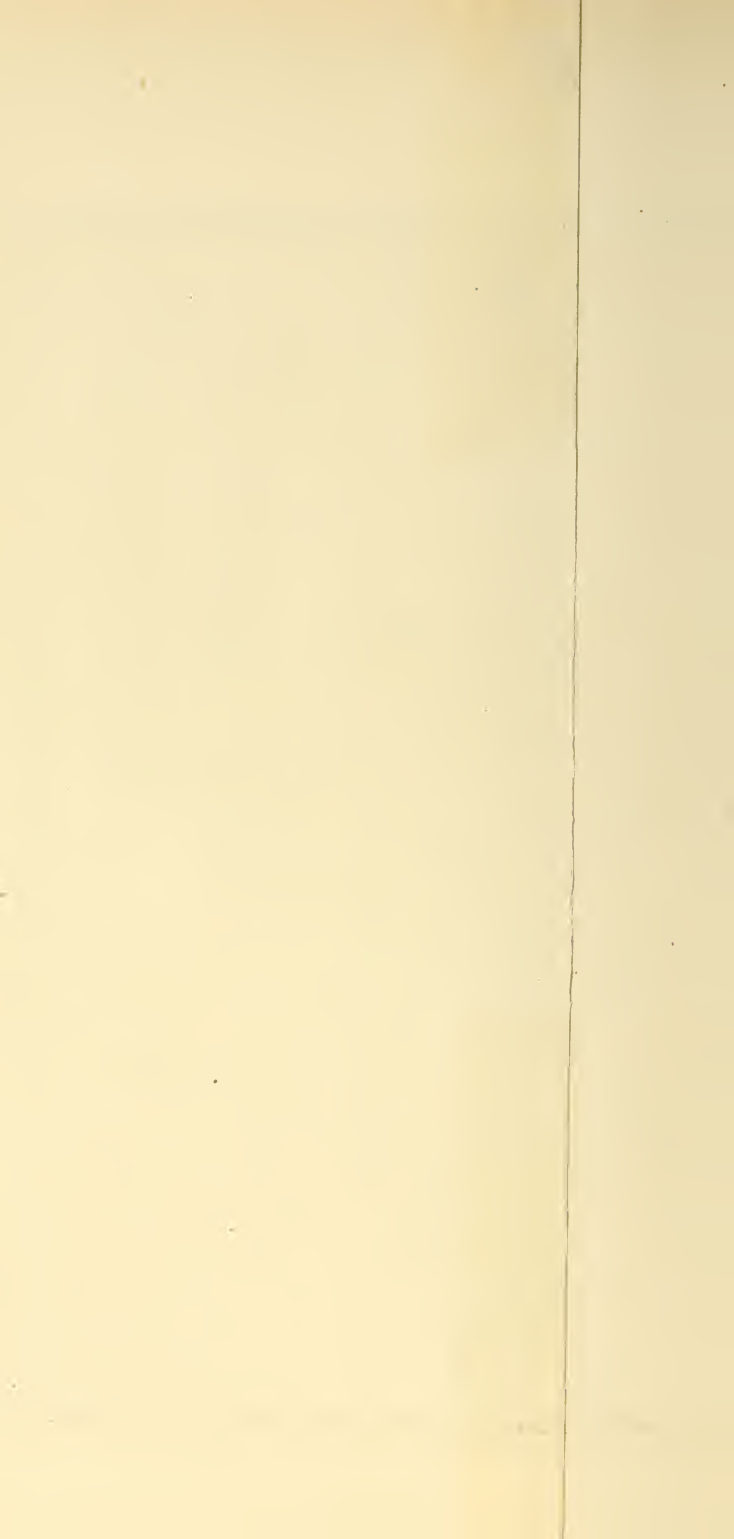
John Vaquelin, commander of Carbouch, killed.
 Marmaduke Lumley, dangerously wounded, made prior of Ireland, *vice* James Hetting (or Keating), who was exposed for refusing to join in the defence.
 Thomas Bem, bailiff of the Eagle, killed.
 Henry Haler, commander of Badsfort, killed.
 Thomas Ploniton, killed.
 Adam Tedbond, killed.
 Henry Batasbi, killed.
 Henry Anulai (or D'Avalos), killed.
 John Kendall, Turcopolier.
 Thomas Docray, afterwards grand-prior of England.
 Leonard de Tybertis.
 Valter Viselberg.
 John Rucht (or Ruck).
 John Besoel (or Boswell).

The losses of the Turks have been variously stated the most probable estimate being about 9,000 killed and 30,000 wounded. The bulk of this huge list of casualties occurred after the last repulse, when in their flight they were mowed down by thousands. Paleologus, after his humiliating discomfiture, could expect but a very unwelcome reception from his disappointed master. Indeed in the first transport of rage, the sultan ordered him to be bowstrung. This stern decree was eventually mitigated into banishment in Gallipoli, where he remained in disgrace till the death of Mahomet.*

* The incidents of this siege are mostly derived from three contemporary writers—the Turk Khodgia Effendi, and the two members of the Order, Merry Dupuis and Caoursin. This latter was Vice Chancellor of the Order, and wrote an account of the siege, illustrated by a series of woodcuts. They are dated 1496, and are excellent specimens of the woodcutting of the time. A fac-simile is here given of the one which represents the city of Rhodes during the siege.



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CHAPTER VII.

1480—1522.

Preparations of Mahomet for a new siege—His death—Flight of Djem to Rhodes—His departure for France—His removal to Rome, and death—Death of D'Aubusson—History of the relic of the hand of St. John the Baptist—Succession of D'Amboise, Blanchefort, and Carretto—Usurpation of Selim and extension of his empire—Accession of Solyman—Death of Carretto and election of L'Isle Adam—Description of Rhodes in 1521 and at present—Fall of Belgrade—Preparations for defence—Detail of the garrison and of the Turkish force—Arrival of the Ottoman army at Rhodes.

THE sultan consoled himself for the unfortunate issue of his enterprise against Rhodes with the idea that his own presence was necessary to insure the success of his arms. He at once commenced preparations for the assembly of a fresh force, with which he proposed to renew in person his attack on the island. This news filled the minds of the fraternity with dismay. The ramparts behind which they had made so gallant a stand were in ruins, their treasury exhausted, and their ranks woefully thinned. A new siege must, they felt, end disastrously for them. At this juncture, as though to add to their calamities, Rhodes was visited by a succession of violent earthquakes, accompanied by a tidal wave. Several of the principal buildings in the town were overthrown, as well as large

masses of the ramparts which had been shaken and rendered insecure by the battering they had undergone. Such a complication of disasters might well have dismayed the stoutest heart; it required all the fortitude even D'Aubusson to bear him through the crisis.

Desperate as the situation was, the Grand-Master continued to press forward such restorations as his limited means permitted. Had the sultan lived to carry out his project, he would have been met as boldly and resisted as firmly as his lieutenant had been. That such resistance could have been for the second time successful was, under the circumstances, hopeless; but he would have entered the city only when it was in ruins, and over the lifeless body of the last of its defenders. Providentially for the Order, this sad catastrophe was averted, Mahomet was suddenly seized with a colic, and died at Nicomedeia on the 3rd May, 1481. Great as had been his successes, the haughty emperor scorned to enumerate them, and directed the following simple epitaph to be placed on his tomb: "My intention was to have captured Rhodes and subdued Italy." The death of the sultan was hailed with joy throughout Europe, and nowhere more so than at Rhodes, where a sense of relief pervaded every bosom. Public thanksgivings were offered up in the conventual church for the death of this most formidable foe. It was on that occasion recorded with natural exultation that the conqueror of so many provinces had never succeeded in wresting one single fort from the possession of the fraternity.

Mahomet's sudden death brought with it the result common in Eastern empires—a disputed succession between his two sons, Bajazet and Djem. The struggle did not last long, and ended in favour of the former. Djem, who

and taken refuge in Caramania, solicited the protection of the Order, and demanded a safe conduct from D'Aubusson to allow him to proceed to Rhodes. This was granted, and he was met at Corycus by the grand-prior of Castile, who accompanied him to the island. Every preparation had been there made to receive him with due honour. A bridge covered with tapestry was thrown out to permit him to land from his galley on horseback. Upon the shore he was met by the Grand-Master with his suite, and as escorted he proceeded through the town to the *auberge* of France, which had been prepared for his reception.

It was a great triumph for the knights that within so short a time after their destruction had been decreed by the sultan they should be thus receiving his son as a prisoner on their bounty. They were, however, far too chivalric to allow a trace of such feelings to appear, and Djem found himself treated with the same deferential hospitality as though he had been a powerful monarch instead of a destitute fugitive. It was in vain, however, that they sought to divert his mind from the danger with which he felt he was surrounded. From the fraternity he knew he had nothing to fear; still he saw that, in spite of all the precautions D'Aubusson might take, he was surrounded by a population many of whom would not scruple at any act of treachery against his person. He was well aware that his brother Bajazet would willingly bestow ample recompense on any one who should remove so dangerous a rival from his path. Filled with dread of such result, Djem suggested to the Grand-Master that he should be permitted to retire to France, where the danger would be less.

At this juncture ambassadors sent by Bajazet from Constantinople arrived at Rhodes with pacific overtures.

There can be no doubt that the presence of Djem at Rhodes had much disquieted his brother, who felt that he would be constantly liable to the risk of the rival claim which that prince, supported by the Order, might put forward. This embassy, so contrary to Mussulman pride, added to the alarm of Djem, and he became more than ever anxious to quit the island. D'Aubusson, with his usual diplomacy, arranged matters so as to satisfy both sides. He secured for his *protégé* a revenue of 35,000 gold ducats (about £15,000), and Bajazet covenanted to pay the knights an annual sum of 10,000 ducats, in compensation for the extraordinary expenses they had incurred during the war with his father. Upon these terms peace was concluded. It has been alleged as a reproach to D'Aubusson that the allowance to Djem was in reality paid to the Order as a bribe for his safe custody. This, however, was not the case; the whole amount was regularly remitted to the young prince, and expended by him partly in the maintenance of his household, and partly in support of the envoys he was constantly despatching to the different courts of Europe. At the same time there is no doubt that the payment made to the Order, although nominally a reimbursement of the cost of Mahomet's attack, was in reality a tribute to prevent any hostile action being taken in support of Djem.

Matters being thus arranged, the young prince embarked on the 1st September, 1482, on board one of the largest galleys in the fleet of the Order, with a suitable escort commanded by two knights of high rank, and set sail for France. He had intended to proceed once to the court of the French king, and endeavour to enlist the sympathies of that monarch on his behalf. Charles VIII. did not feel disposed to interfere in his

your, and received the envoys of Djem with studied coldness, declining a personal interview. Disheartened at his conduct, the prince retired to the commandery of Bourgneuf, the residence of the grand-prior of Auvergne, where he whiled away his time in such rural sports as the place afforded.

He was, however, a personage of too much importance to the political interests of Europe to be permitted to remain undisturbed. The princes of Christendom began to court the possession of one whose name would prove such a powerful auxiliary in a war against the Turks. Plots were therefore set on foot in various quarters to withdraw him from the protection of the Order. At the same time designs of a baser nature were concocted at the instigation of Bajazet, aimed at the young prince's life. Vigilant indeed was the watch which his escort were compelled to maintain to protect their charge from the attempts both of friend and foe; and these precautions have been distorted into an accusation that Djem was all this time a prisoner. That he was carefully guarded was no doubt a fact, but that this duty was performed in a manner honourable to the fraternity and beneficial to himself is proved by the following letter on the subject addressed by him to D'Aubusson:—"Most kindly and faithfully have I been served by the said knights, without being able to testify my gratitude in the slightest degree by remunerating them in the manner I should most ardently have desired. With the warmest and most affectionate cordiality, I beg of your very reverend lordship kindly to look upon them all as persons peculiarly commended to you by your love to me. I will think every favour and benefit which you bestow on them as conferred by your condescension on myself personally."

This letter was written on the 27th October, 1494, after his abandonment of the Order's protection, and removal to the papal court.

The Pope had long been urgent that Djem should be transferred into his hands, and had tempted the young prince to exchange the protection of the knights for his own by the offer of placing him on the Ottoman throne. D'Aubusson knew that it would have been safer for Djem to remain the guest of the fraternity, but he was not in a position to thwart the wishes of his ecclesiastical superior when supported by Djem himself. The transfer was effected with great splendour in the month of March 1488, the king of France being a consenting party. From that moment all connection between the fraternity and the young prince was at an end, nor can it be in any way held responsible for the miserable fate which befell him at the hands of Alexander VI., who shortly afterwards succeeded to the chair of St. Peter. The new Pope is generally supposed to have poisoned Djem, in order to secure the payment of 300,000 crowns offered to him for the purpose by Bajazet.

This miserable catastrophe caused the most poignant anguish to D'Aubusson, and the disgrace which the foul murder cast on Christianity affected him deeply. From this time may be dated the commencement of that decline which soon brought the noble old man to his grave. He had long taken a leading part in all the delicate negotiations carried on between the princes of the West and the Turkish court, and in the year 1485 received from the Pope the hat of a cardinal, coupled with nomination to the post of papal legate. He bore a part in the politics of Europe far more influential than his position would have apparently warranted, and was universally admitted to

one of the greatest soldiers and most prominent statesmen of his age. When the Pope organised a league of all the Christian powers of Europe against the Turks, D'Aubusson was unanimously elected to the chief command of the Christian forces, and although the enterprise was rendered difficult through the conflicting interests of its members, his appointment marked the high estimation in which he was held. In the year 1499, an envoy was sent to Rhodes from Henry VII., king of England, with a very flattering letter to the Grand-Master, accompanied by a present of horses, much prized for their pure blood. They were mentioned in the letter to have been reared in the island of Rhodes and to have been called Ebury. The king at the same time sent several pieces of artillery for the defence of Rhodes, which he requested might be placed under the charge of the English knights.

At length, on the 30th June, 1503, D'Aubusson breathed his last at the ripe age of eighty years. His loss was deeply felt, not only by the members of the fraternity, but by the inhabitants generally, to whom he had endeared himself by the justice of his rule and the liberal policy invariably maintained towards them. He had held the station of Grand-Master for a period of twenty-seven years, and this lengthened period was marked by the uniform magnanimity, piety, and heroic deeds with which it was adorned. Beloved by his Order, revered by the princes of Europe, respected and dreaded by the enemies whom he had worsted in the field or baffled in the court, munificent in his public acts, as the numerous buildings, foundations, and other charities which he established fully prove, affable and gracious in his demeanour towards those with whom he was brought into contact, he was a perfect monarch, save those whose misdeeds had merited

his chastisement, or in whose jaundiced eyes the mere existence of such virtues was in itself an offence.

It was during his rule that the relic so highly prized by the knights was first brought to Rhodes. Adolphus D'Aubusson had arranged his treaty with Bajazet, the monarch, anxious to testify his gratitude, presented the Grand-Master with the right hand of St. John the Baptist which had fallen into the possession of his father at the capture of Constantinople. This hand, which was enclosed in a casket of Cyprus wood, lined with crimson velvet, and studded with precious stones, was thus addressed: "Bajazet, king of Asia and emperor of emperors, to the very wise and illustrious Grand-Master of Rhodes, Perceval D'Aubusson, most generous prince and father of a very glorious empire." Few of the relics which during the middle ages were scattered throughout Europe can have their authenticity traced with such minuteness of detail as this. The body of St. John the Baptist had been buried in the town of Sebasta, after his beheading by Herod. St. Luke is stated to have been very desirous of removing these bones, and, joining with some of the other disciples of St. John, they, under cover of night, opened the grave, but finding it impracticable to remove the whole body without discovery, they severed the right hand, which they considered the most sacred portion, as having been employed in the baptism of our Lord. St. Luke carried the hand to Antioch, and when he left that city for Bithynia, he placed the relic in charge of the church he had established there. The hand remained at Antioch until the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who bribed a deacon of the church to steal it and bring it to Constantinople, where it was placed in the church of St. John. It remained there until the capture of the city by Mahomet, when, owing to

the of its casket, it was put in the sultan's treasury, whence it was taken by Bajazet for presentation to Aubusson.

The new Grand-Master was Almeric D'Amboise, grand-master of France. The nine years of his sway were marked by a series of naval combats, in which the Order reaped much distinction. He also completed the gateway that still bears his name. Newton thus speaks of this structure: "The castello is entered from the west by a noble gateway, commenced by the Grand-Master D'Amboise, from whom this gate takes its name. Over the door within an oggee frame is a slab of white marble, on which is sculptured in relief an angel, holding the escutcheon of D'Amboise, with the inscription, 'Amboyse, MDXII.'"

The completion of this gateway must have been the last important act of the Grand-Master, as he died on the 11th of November, 1512, at the age of seventy-eight years, rich and deservedly regretted.

His successor, Guy de Blanchefort, who at the time of his nomination was residing in his grand-priory of Auvergne, died on the passage to Rhodes, off the island of Rhé. As soon as the intelligence reached the convent the knights assembled for a new election, and we find it recorded that there were at the time resident in the island 100 knights, divided in the following manner:—Of the *langue* of France, 100; Provence, 90; Auvergne, 84; Castile and Portugal, 88; Aragon, 66; Italy, 60; England, 38; and Germany, 5. These were in addition to the lay brothers and serving brothers. Fabrizio Carretto, the constitutional bailiff of the *langue* of Italy, a knight who had greatly distinguished himself in the late siege, was nominated to the vacant office.

Very important changes had of late years been taking

place in the East, which threatened the island of Rhodes with a renewed attack from the Ottoman power. Selim, the youngest of the three sons of Bajazet, inheriting the warlike aspirations of his ancestors, and as unscrupulous as he was ambitious, murdered his father and two elder brothers, and having thus cleared the way, mounted the throne without opposition or fear of rivalry. Turning his attention first against Egypt, he in the course of four years overran that country, including the province of Syria. He then commenced formidable preparations for the reduction of Rhodes; but whilst thus occupied he died suddenly of a malignant cancer, thus affording the fraternity a respite from their anxieties. His only son Solyman, who ascended the throne, was destined during the course of his long reign to become the most illustrious of that race of conquerors from whom he sprang, and to earn for himself the title of Solyman the Magnificent.

Carretto did not live to feel the power of the new sultan, as he died in the month of January, 1521. He was the last Grand-Master buried at Rhodes, and his tomb is placed beneath one of the windows in the nave of the church of St. John. The central slab had been removed, but the border was perfect until the destruction of the cathedral in 1856, and bore an inscription recording his name and services.

A warm contest ensued on the election of his successor, the names of three candidates having been brought prominently forward. One of these was Andrew D'Amaral, or D'Amaral Miral, who was at the time chancellor of the Order. His arrogance and haughty temper had, however, made him too many enemies for success. The weight of the struggle lay between the other two candidates, Thomas Docwra and Docray, the grand-prior of England, and Philip Villiers

L'Isle Adam, grand-prior of France. Docray was a man whose experience in diplomacy had rendered him celebrated; he was, moreover, in the possession of a magnificent fortune—a fact which added materially to the weight of his claims; but as the French interest was centred in L'Isle Adam, the vote was decided against Docray, and his rival was proclaimed the forty-second Grand-Master. Docray was among the first to congratulate his rival; but Amaraul, on the other hand, gave way to the most extravagant bitterness of temper. Whilst in this mood he is reported to have uttered a speech which was subsequently quoted against him, and which greatly assisted in bringing him to the scaffold. He is accused of having said that L'Isle Adam would be the last Grand-Master of Rhodes.

The knights had now been resident in the island for upwards of 200 years, and the time was close at hand when they were to be driven from its shores. It seems, therefore, a suitable place to enter into some description of its state at this the last year of their dominion. A general account of the fortifications has already been given, as they stood at the date of the first siege. Since then many additions and developments had been carried out, but hardly seem to require any further notice. As regards the town and its neighbourhood, the English archæologist Newton, and the French architect Biliotti, a native of Rhodes, have both given graphic descriptions, the latter in considerable detail: the bulk of what follows is gathered from these sources. Newton thus describes the Castello, that part of the town which, forming the upper horn of the crescent, was the residence of the knights. After describing the entrance by the Amboise as already quoted, he continues: "A drawbridge connects this gateway with a stone bridge, which here spans

“ the fosse with three arches. Passing through this gate
 “ a vaulted passage leads through the counterscarp over
 “ second and third fosse, which defend the palace of the
 “ Grand-Master on the west. After crossing the third
 “ fosse, the road enters the Castello between the Church
 “ St. John and the palace of the Grand-Master, opposite
 “ the upper end of the street of the knights. This street
 “ which runs east and west, divides the Castello into two
 “ nearly equal parts. On the south is the church of
 “ John the Baptist, which seems to have been enlarged
 “ and altered by successive Grand-Masters, and was probably
 “ founded by Fulk de Villaret on the first establishment
 “ of the knights at Rhodes. The outside has no
 “ architectural feature. Its plan is a regular basilica
 “ containing a nave and two aisles, with a clock-tower
 “ the upper part of which was destroyed in the siege [the
 “ second siege is here alluded to]. The interior dimensions
 “ are 150 feet in length by 52 in breadth. Twelve
 “ columns dividing the aisles from the nave are chiefly
 “ granite, and are probably taken from several ancient
 “ buildings. The roof is of wood, the beams and ceiling
 “ blue, spangled with gold stars.”

This church replaced a Byzantine chapel, which in its
 turn had been raised on the ruins of a Greek temple.
 The simplicity of the exterior was in striking contrast
 with the richness of the interior fittings. Numerous valuable
 pictures, gold and silver ornaments of all kinds, and
 gorgeous vestments were to be found therein, and
 superb missals and rich reliquaries, chief amongst which
 was the magnificent casket containing the hand of St. John.
 The windows were filled with stained glass, adorned with
 the escutcheons of celebrated knights, probably those of
 the donors of the windows. This church was unf-

entirely completely destroyed at the end of the year 1856, by an explosion of powder stored in the vaults beneath the building, the existence of which was unknown to the Turkish authorities at the time. The clock-tower referred to by Newton in the foregoing quotation, was a campanile quite distinct from the church. It was used as a military observatory in both sieges, and was on that account nearly destroyed in the siege of 1522.

The Grand-Master's palace was opposite the church, but has been so much damaged from various causes that it is difficult to make out much of its original plan and arrangements. "Returning from this," Newton continues, "we look down the long and narrow street which is well known to travellers by the name of Strada dei Cavalieri, the street of the knights. In no European city perhaps can be found a street so little changed since the fifteenth century. No Vandal hand has disturbed the perfect repose and keeping of the scene by demolition or repairs; the very pavement has a mediæval look, as if it had known no thoroughfare since its broad marbles were trodden by Christian warriors three centuries ago."

Starting from St. John's cathedral, the street of the knights slopes towards the church of St. Catherine, and contains throughout a series of the most interesting monumental records. The first of the *auberges* or inns of the various *langues* was that of Spain, which occupies a triangle in the street. This building was covered with armorial bearings, most of which have been lately removed and taken to Constantinople. Immediately beyond the *auberge*, a narrow staircase leads to a stone pulpit, from which the decrees of the council were promulgated. Towards the middle of the street the most striking object is the *auberge* of France, which is a very highly ornamented

structure. Over the principal entrance are escutcheons that on one side bearing the arms of the Order, and on the other those of the Grand-Master D'Amboise. On the first floor are the arms of France side by side with those of D'Aubusson. Over the former is the motto *Montjoie Sainct Denis*, and over the latter a cardinal's hat. Beneath runs the legend *Voluntas Dei Est*, 1495. The arms of L'Isle Adam appear twice, dated 1511, whilst he was grand-prior of France. The arms of the celebrated engineer Pierre Clouet, whose talents had been in so much request at Rhodes, also appear in two separate places. The cornices, window labels, and architraves are most elaborately ornate. The coping is battlemented, the line being broken by corbelled turrets, and gargoyles in the form of fantastic dragons.

The *auberges* of Italy and England stood the one by the side of the church of St. Catherine, the other opposite the hospital. The former bore the arms of the Grand-Master Carretto, with the date 1519; the latter was adorned with the arms of England, and with those of several distinguished knights of the *langue*. These have all been removed of late years. Newton thus describes the decorations of the *auberges*: "The style of architecture throughout the structure is an interesting modification of the modern Gothic. The escutcheons are generally set in a richly sculptured ogival arch. Most of the windows are square-headed, with labels and upright mullions; while the pointed arch is constantly employed in the doorways. In the rich and fantastic ornaments we recognize the Flamboyant style so generally prevalent in Europe in the fifteenth century; but the ornaments are but sparingly introduced, so as not to disturb the noble simplicity of the general design. In all the edifices built by the knights at Rhodes we see 13

“some tendency to temper the stern and naked ruggedness of military masonry as far as possible with rich ornaments such as we generally find associated with ecclesiastical architecture. No fitter symbol could have been adopted than this mixed style to express the character of an Order at once military and religious.”

The last building on the south side of the street was the old Hospital of the knights. Newton thus describes it “This is a large square edifice, with a very simple external façade. The entrance is under a kind of vestibule facing the east. The original doors, which were of Cyprus wood richly carved, were given to the Prince de Joinville on the occasion of his visit to Rhodes. On either side are large vaults, now used as warehouses. The inside is a quadrangle supported on vaults, above which the open arcades formed of round arches resting on pillars. Adjoining the arcades are four long rooms, corresponding with the four sides of the quadrangle. These saloons and the open galleries are covered with a floor of Cyprus wood in very fine condition. The four rooms were evidently for the sick, and the open galleries for the convalescent to walk in. In one of the vaulted magazines in the basement the chain which served to raise the entrance to the harbour was formerly kept, and as seen by Ross in his visit in 1843. He describes it as 750 feet in length, each link being $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. Since his visit it has been removed to Constantinople. The hospital was commenced by Villeneuve, and completed by the Grand-Master Fluvian, and seems to have been well planned for its purpose.”

Such were the leading features of the Castello, so far as it can be judged from what still exists; and it is strange how little injury has been done to the decorations

by the Turks, who have been the possessors of the city for upwards of three centuries. Nothing in the way of emblazonment has been wilfully damaged; even the crosses have been left intact.

The chapel of Our Lady of Filermo was undoubtedly the most important and interesting building left by the fraternity outside the city of Rhodes. It was built to contain a picture of the Virgin Mary, supposed to have been from the brush of St. Luke, which they held in especial reverence. In an arched crypt, about 20 feet long and 8 feet broad, are the remains of a large number of frescoes, the work of a member of the Order who had been a pupil of Cimabue. To the east of this crypt stood the church itself, of which only the ruins of a portion remain; but from these it may be seen that the building was grand and important, and probably richly sculptured and ornamented. It consisted of two long naves separated by a row of fluted columns, whose capitals carried the vaulted roof, which was groined. Behind the naves, and connected with them, are the remains of the sacristy, also divided in two. From traces still to be seen it may be gathered that the building was constructed to serve for purposes of defence.

During the two centuries in which the knights were settled in Rhodes the manufacture of faïence was much encouraged. This pottery is still greatly sought after, and is known as Lindos ware; it partakes somewhat of the character of Majolica. Cotton stuffs embroidered with silk were also a staple trade of the island. The cotton and silk were both produced there, and the embroidered material in the form of curtains, cushions, and other furniture was much prized. It is supposed that the silkworms were fed on brilliantly coloured flowers, thereby

imparting to the silk natural dyes which resisted the bleaching action of light.

It is impossible now to trace the principles of government adopted by the knights towards the native population. It can only be surmised that, since no tradition remains of dislike to their memory, their rule was probably fairly lenient. It must, of course, be assumed that, living as they did in a condition of constant warfare, the island was more or less in a state of siege; still, the people apparently flourished under a government which, inflexible, seems to have been just. In the absence of any direct testimony, we may argue favourably from the extraordinary fidelity of the peasantry during the two long and perilous sieges, when their privations and sufferings were very great. The enormous increase in the population of the island may also be taken in proof of the beneficence of the government. Tradition records one admirable regulation made by the fraternity. A certain portion of the grain harvest was taken from each farmer, and stored in the granaries of the fortress. Should a siege take place, this provision sufficed to feed the population; but should the year pass in peace it was returned intact to the owner, and a corresponding portion of the new crop taken in its stead. By this simple means the fortress was kept permanently provisioned. There can be no question of the religious toleration of the knights. Living, as they did, in the midst of a population mostly professing the Greek faith, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for them to have kept the inhabitants loyal had they not remained on good terms with the Greek priesthood. It is one of the few cases in which members of the Roman and Greek faith have been cooped up within such narrow limits, and yet have maintained friendship.

The Order coined its own money from the earliest time of its settlement in Rhodes. It is impossible now to compile a complete list of the various pieces issued, but the silver coins are known to have consisted of crowns, ducats and florins. The earlier ones carried on one side a cross, on the other a kneeling knight. Later on they bore the arm of the Grand-Master. Thus we find coins of Elyon de Villeneuve representing him kneeling before a cross; on the other side a *fleur de lisée* cross. On one side the legend *Fr. Elyon De Villanova M.R.*; on the other, *Ospital S. Io. Ieros : Rodi*. Coins struck by D'Amboise bore on the one side the arms of that Grand-Master with the legend *Emericus Damboise Magn. Mag. R.*, and on the other the lamb of St. John with the words *Agn. Dei Qui Tollis Peccata Mun. Misa No*. Those issued by L'Isle Adam bore his head with the words *F. Phus De Lile Adam M. Hospit. Hieri M.*; on the reverse his arms with the motto *D. Mihi Virtutem Contra Hostes Tuos*.

Such was the state of the island of Rhodes during the last year of the Order's sway, when L'Isle Adam succeeded to the supreme dignity. He was at the time residing in his grand-priory, but, sensible of the importance of the crisis and the imminence of the danger which threatened the convent, he set sail at once for Rhodes. He arrived there in safety, after having incurred some peril from the opposition of the corsair Curtoglu, who endeavoured to intercept him on his voyage, but failed in the attempt. The emperor Solyman had just brought the siege of Belgrade to a successful conclusion, and was once more turning his attention to that dream of his father's ambition, the capture of Rhodes. Selim's last words to him had been: "You will be a great and powerful monarch, provided you capture Belgrade and

drive away the knights from Rhodes." The recollection that the forces of his ancestor had been driven in confusion from its shores only rendered the project all the more attractive in his eyes. In addition to the desire which he naturally felt to remove the stigma cast on the Turkish arms by the former failure, it would be to him a great enhancement of glory to succeed in an undertaking which so mighty a monarch as Mahomet had failed.

In this view he was warmly seconded by many of his courtiers, chief amongst whom were his brother-in-law Mustapha and the corsair Curtoglu, both of whom trusted to derive wealth and distinction from the enterprise. Their counsels, which accorded so well with the promptings of his own ambition, decided the emperor to carry out the project, and he at once commenced the necessary preparations. L'Isle Adam, on his side, exerted all his energies to resist the attack manfully. Envoys were sent to the various courts of Europe to implore assistance in a struggle, the result of which must prove a matter of so great importance to Christendom. Unfortunately, the emperor Charles V. and the French king Francis were too deeply engaged in their own broils to give any heed to the cry which arose from the shores of Rhodes. The commanderies had already furnished such contingents as it was in their power to contribute, and it became clear to L'Isle Adam that he would have to trust for success far more to the spirit of his troops than to their numbers. Only one of the numerous missions was prosperous — that to India, which he had intrusted to Antonio Bosio, a serving soldier of considerable talent and sagacity, and related to the celebrated historian of the Order. This able negotiator succeeded in bringing back with him not only an ample supply of stores, but also 500 Cretan archers, in those

days highly esteemed for their skill with the crossbow. He had likewise attracted into the service of the fraternity the Venetian engineer Gabriel Martinigo, whose reputation as a master of his science stood so high that his presence in Rhodes was hailed with enthusiasm.

Martinigo was so much impressed with the devotion and zeal which he noticed on every side that he applied to the Grand-Master for admission into the Order. As he was able to afford the necessary proofs, he was professed and at once named a grand-cross, the whole charge of the fortifications being vested in his hands. Various additions were at his suggestion made to the defences: the gates were covered with ravelins, casemates were constructed in the flanks of the bastions, and the counterscarps were mined in various places. Within the town, barricades were erected in the principal streets, in order to protract the contest even after the ramparts had fallen.

L'Isle Adam now caused a careful inspection to be made of his little garrison. The members of each *langue* were drawn up in front of their respective *auberges*, fully armed and accoutred, each being inspected by a knight of a different *langue*. The total strength of the force proved to be 600 knights and 4,500 men-at-arms. In addition to these regular troops, many of the inhabitants had enrolled themselves into a body of volunteers, and were formed into battalions. The sailors of the galleys were also landed, and composed a naval brigade; whilst the peasants who flocked into the town from the surrounding country were made useful as pioneers, performing most of the manual labour, which the small number of the troops rendered them unable to execute for themselves.

It has already been shown what portion of the general line of works was appropriated to each *langue*. It remain

ly to say that the reserve was divided into four bodies, commanded respectively by the chancellor d'Amaral, who was to support the quarters of Auvergne and Germany; the Turcopolier John Buck for Spain and England; the grand-prior of France, Pierre de Cluys, for France and Castile; and the grand-prior of Navarre, George de Morgut, for Provence and Italy. The tower of St. Nicholas was placed under the command of Guyot de Castellan, a knight of Provence, and was garrisoned by 20 knights and 300 men-at-arms.

The number of English knights present at the siege has not been recorded. The following names only can be added, viz. :—

John Buck or Bouch, Turcopolier.

Nicholas Hussey, commander of the tower of St. Mary.

William Weston, commander of the English quarter.

Thomas Sheffield, commander of the palace postern.

Nicholas Farfan, in the suite of the Grand-Master.

Henry Mansel, do. do.

John Ranson or Rawson.

William Tuest (? West).

John Baron.

Thomas Remberton or Pemberton.

George Asfelz.

John Lotu.

Francis Buet (? Butt).

Giles Rosel (? Russell).

George Emer (? Aylmer).

Michael Roux.

Nicholas Usel.

Otho de Montselli or Monteilli.

Nicholas Roberts, who wrote an account of the siege to the earl of Surrey (now among the Cotton MSS.).

Although there is no record of the deaths of any of these except Buck and Mansel, it is probable that the majority of them lost their lives, as it is stated that, owing to the numerous casualties in the *langue* of England, the defence of the tower of St. Mary had eventually to be transferred to knights of other *langues*.

Meanwhile, every preparation for the commencement of the siege had been completed by Solyman. Mustapha pasha had been selected leader of the land forces, and Curtoglu, as admiral of the fleet, had the arrangements of transport. The strength of the Ottoman army somewhat difficult to determine. Vertot and most of the other European historians place it at 140,000, supplemented by 60,000 peasants from Wallachia and Bosnia who were to carry out the construction of the siege works. These figures sound incredibly large in comparison with the garrison of under 7,000 men of all ranks. When we look to the Turkish historians the matter does not become much clearer. Ahmed Hafiz speaks of 40,000 rowers for the galleys, with 25,000 infantry on board; but these figures only refer to the force which originally started from Constantinople, and take no account of those which the sultan afterwards brought with him when he proceeded in person to Rhodes. The naval armament numbered, according to Hafiz, 700 sail, of which 50 were galleys.

Early on the morning of the 26th June, a signal from St. Stephen's hill conveyed intelligence into the city that the Turkish fleet was in sight. It was within the octave of the feast of St. John, during which it had always been the custom in Rhodes for a procession to pass through the principal streets of the town. L'Isle Adam, anxious to calm and reassure the terror-stricken population, directed

that this procession should pursue its usual course, although the hostile fleet was at that moment studding the horizon. The procession over, high mass was celebrated in St. John's church. At its conclusion the Grand-Master, mounting the steps of the altar in the presence of the assembled multitude, poured forth a prayer on behalf of the people committed to his charge, that the Almighty would deign to give them fortitude to defend His holy religion; that the fire and sword, the slaughter and rapine, with which they were menaced, might through His infinite mercy be averted. L'Isle Adam was not only one of the first soldiers and trusted leaders of the day, he was at the same time eminent for his fervent piety and the earnestness of his religious zeal. When, therefore, on this eventful morning he thus consecrated his cause to Heaven, and appealed to the Most High in touching application against the foe by whom his city and Order were menaced, all felt that under the guidance of such a man they were in good hands, and that if it were decreed that they should prosper, none could better carry the fiat into effect.

The religious ceremony concluded, the garrison were directed to repair to their respective posts; the gates were shut, the bridges raised, banners were hoisted on the various bastions, and all stood awaiting the first scene of the bloody drama. The Grand-Master, clad in magnificent gilt armour, rode at the head of his guards with three knights beside him, one bearing the grand standard of the Order, the second the banner presented to D'Aubusson by the Pope, and the third a flag emblazoned with his own coat of arms. This latter was borne by a young English knight named Henry Mansel, who was killed early in the siege.

Not a man, woman, or child on that eventful morning remained within doors. Every point from whence the motions of the hostile fleet could be observed was thronged with anxious gazers. Many there were amongst the crowd, men whose hair time had sprinkled with silver who, looking back through a long vista of years, could call to mind a scene very similar to that on which the eyes were now bent, when forty-two years since their sea had been covered with the fleet of that proud empire between themselves and which an undying hatred was ever burning. Then the God of battles had declared on their side, and they had triumphed gloriously. He had enabled them to hurl back the ruthless invader from the shores, and the bones of thousands who had once mustered in that proud array lay whitened beneath their soil. The husbandman still, in the cultivation of his land, every now and again turned up some relic to remind him of the strife of which he was so justly proud; and amidst the verdant plains with which the city was surrounded marked a patch of green more brilliant than the rest was pointed out as the spot where lay one of those numerous masses of slain, buried in haste and confusion after the retreat of their companions. With all these memorials of the former victory before their eyes, with the knowledge that the Rhodes of to-day was far more powerful and capable of resistance than that which had maintained itself successfully forty years before, with the strains of martial music filling the air and exhilarating their hearts, with the summer sun flashing its rays upon many a knightly crest and brodered pennon, it was natural that they should enjoy a sense of confidence amounting to exultation, and that they should look with a feeling well nigh of certainty for the moment when the foe, once more

boiling in dismay from their ramparts, should seek an ignominious safety in flight.

Some there were, however, whose hearts, in spite of all these brilliant auguries of success, were filled with dread. They well knew that the might of Mahomet was, even at its zenith, far inferior to that of the emperor who now occupied his throne. Solyman's career had, to the present moment, been one unbroken series of triumphs; the army which was about to pour its numberless battalions upon the shores of their island far surpassed that which they had before successfully resisted, not in mere numbers only, but in every detail of its equipment, and was led by generals trained to victory beneath the redoubted banner of their sultan. Under these conditions it might well prove that the constancy and bravery even of the knights of St. John would be unavailing, and that they might live to see the day when the Moslem standard should wave over those ramparts whereon they were now standing, and which had been maintained for upwards of two hundred years in proud and honourable security.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SECOND SIEGE OF RHODES, 1522.

Commencement of the siege—Plot by a female slave within the city—Construction of cavaliers—Mining operations—Assault on the tower of St. Mary—Repeated attacks and their repulse—Accusations against the chancellor D'Amaral—His trial and execution—Negotiations for surrender—Terms offered by Solyman—Their acceptance—Close of the siege and surrender of the island.

THE disembarkation of the besieging army, which extended over several days, proceeded without interruption from the defenders. Numerous tempting opportunities for striking a blow had during this time presented themselves, but the chief difficulty under which L'Isle Adam laboured was the paucity of his garrison, and any such efforts must have involved a certain amount of loss. Considering the enormous disproportion between the Turkish forces and his own, no comparatively minor advantage could compensate for any diminution in his own strength; the Grand-Master was therefore obliged to curb the ardour of his followers, and to permit advances to be made which, had his numbers been greater, he would have been able to check. All preliminary measures having been taken, the Turks broke ground, under cover of a cannonade, with the aid of the Wallachian peasants.

from they had brought for the purpose. The knights, on their side, harassed the working parties in every possible way, and greatly impeded the work of the besiegers, vast numbers of the defenceless pioneers falling victims to their fire.

From the very commencement disaffection had shown itself in the Turkish army, and there had been much reluctance on the part of the janissaries to engage in the operation. The failure of the former siege was well known to them, and the story of the almost superhuman valor displayed on that occasion by the knights of St John had lost none of its terrors by constant repetition. They were well aware that since that day much had been done to strengthen the fortress, and they looked upon Rhodes, defended as it was by such a frowning mass of ramparts and batteries, and held by the lion-hearted before whom their forefathers had so often recoiled, as almost impregnable. The ill-success of their first attempts in pushing forward the siege works, and the fearful losses inflicted upon the miserable pioneers, completed their disaffection. Murmurs and remonstrances soon became loud throughout the camp, and it was with difficulty that the troops could be induced to advance to what they considered certain destruction. Pir Mehmed pasha (called in most of the European histories Pyrrhus pasha), a general and counsellor in whom Solyman placed the greatest confidence, deemed it necessary to report this disaffection to his master, informing him that nothing short of his immediate presence on the spot could control the turbulence of the mutineers. Solyman had from the first intended to take part in the siege in person, but this message hastened his movements, and he soon appeared on the scene at the head of a large body

of troops.* By a judicious mixture of clemency and severity, he rapidly restored the spirit of his army; and the late mutineers, ashamed in the presence of the sultan of the murmurings and insubordination in which they had so lately indulged, now became fired with an anxious desire to distinguish themselves and merit his approbation.

Meanwhile, a plot had been discovered within the city the details of which had been arranged by a Turkish female slave. She had devised a scheme, in conjunction with some of her fellow-slaves, for setting fire to the town at several points simultaneously, and giving admission to the besiegers during the confusion that would ensue. She had succeeded in establishing communication with the Turkish leaders, and the hour for the attempt was fixed, when, by some inadvertency on the part of one of the confederates, the plot was discovered. The conspirators were seized, and subjected to torture, under the pressure of which a confession was wrung from all concerned, excepting only the dauntless woman who had originated the scheme. She stoutly maintained her innocence, and, her constancy remaining unshaken to the last, she suffered the extreme penalty of the law without having uttered a word to inculpate herself or others. Of her

* The Turkish account of the sultan's arrival at Rhodes differs somewhat from the above, which is taken from the narratives of the European historians. According to Ahmed Hafiz, the force which first landed only consisted of the troops usually carried on board the fleet together with the Wallachian peasantry. The sultan advanced by land at the head of the main army, and the fleet, having returned from Asia Minor for the purpose, conveyed them to Rhodes. The date of his landing is uncertain, but it must have been about the middle of July.

guilt, however—if such an attempt can be called guilt on the part of one in her position—there can be no doubt. Her severed limbs were exposed on the ramparts, where they served as a warning to deter others similarly situated from any further projects of the kind.

Suspensions of treason throughout this siege appear to have been very prevalent, and the rumours to that effect which were constantly circulating engendered a universal feeling of distrust highly prejudicial to the maintenance of discipline. Many of these suspicions were groundless; still, no doubt, there lurked within the walls an amount of treachery sufficient to account for their existence. A Jewish doctor had been sent to Rhodes as a spy by the Sultan when first preparing for the expedition, and he, when afterwards discovered, maintained correspondence with the besiegers, whereby much valuable information was conveyed to them. It was by his suggestion that the Turkish artillery was directed against the campanile of St. John's church, from which elevated spot the besieged would have been able to overlook the whole Turkish camp, and to trace their operations in the trenches. A few days' practice at this conspicuous target sufficed to achieve its overthrow, and the knights were deprived of a post of observation which they had found extremely useful.

The few sorties which the garrison had been permitted to make during the construction of the trenches would much impeded the operations of the Turks, but these successes had not been gained without loss. The same feeling which prompted L'Isle Adam to refrain from any attempt at checking the disembarkation of the Turks made him now resolve to abandon all further attacks. The Turks were thus able to complete their works without any other hindrance than that caused by the artillery,

which Ahmed Hafiz admits was worked with wonderful accuracy. The cessation of these sallies prevented the capture of any more prisoners, and L'Isle Adam was consequently no longer able to ascertain what was going on in the enemy's camp. In this dilemma, a party of sailors undertook to supply the want. They dressed themselves as Turks, and left the harbour during the night in a small boat. Speaking the enemy's language with facility, they coasted along the shore, and proceeded fearlessly into the midst of the Turkish camp. Thence they succeeded in inveigling two genuine Moslems into their boat, and carried them off into the town. The prisoners were taken to the top of St. John's tower, which had not yet been demolished, and there they were questioned by Martinigo and two other knights. They were given plainly to understand that on displaying the least hesitation or prevarication they would be hurled headlong from the dizzy height on which they stood. Under the pressure of this menace they disclosed all they knew, and the order in which the besiegers' forces were posted was ascertained. Between the shore of Archangel bay and the bastion of St. John were the troops of Pir Mehmed, to his left was the division of Anatolia commanded by Cassim pasha, then that of Mustapha pasha, next to whom was Achmet pasha, whose division reached as far as the Amboise gate, the circuit being closed towards the north by the troops of the Begler Bey of Roumelia, and the janissaries under their chief Baly Aga. Solyman had established his head-quarters on St. Stephen's hill.

The sultan had not long continued the direction of the siege, when he discovered that from the level of the ground on which his trenches were formed he could gain

command over the defences. To obviate this difficulty he directed two large cavaliers to be raised, one in front of the bastion of Italy, and the other between the posts of Spain and Germany. As the sites selected for these works were completely swept by the guns of the town, and as, from the rapid manner in which the operation was pushed forward, it became evident that something of more than ordinary importance was in progress, every available battery was called into requisition, and the losses sustained by the hapless pioneers were prodigious. Solyman, however, held the lives of these peasants in no esteem, and so, although heaps of slain marked the progress, the mounds continued to rise until at length they dominated over the ramparts in their front. This is what Ahmed Hafiz says on the subject: "Mehmed pasha, without loss of time, directed Mustapha pasha to have a number of sand-bags filled, and to have them piled up as close as possible to the fortress, in order to raise redoubts which should reach the height of the rest of those works, for in this manner only did he hope to be able to carry them. The infidels, doubtless understanding the design, concentrated all their fire on the workmen, but their shot had no effect in the soft earth, killing, it is true, some persons, but not damaging the mounds, which soon reached the level of the parapets, so that the defenders could no longer man them with impunity." It is easy to see from this account that the slaughter of the Wallachians made no impression on the historian; some persons, it is true, were killed, but the raising of the mounds was the main object, and that was not impeded.

Meanwhile a heavy fire was brought to bear against the tower of St. Nicholas, but without much success, the

artillery directed against the besieging batteries by Martinigo utterly crushing them. A more general distribution of the Turkish guns was then directed, and for a whole month the town was enveloped in a circle of fire. The bastions of St. Mary and Italy eventually began to show signs of the vigour with which they were being attacked; but wherever this was the case the defenders repaired the damages almost as rapidly as they were caused. In all directions new ditches were sunk and behind them retrenchments were raised, encircling the vulnerable points. Solyman at length perceived that against antagonists such as these a simple war of artillery might last for ever, and he therefore determined to have recourse to mining. Shafts were sunk in various positions and galleries driven from them beneath the principal bastions. Martinigo had foreseen the probability of this mode of approach, and the numerous contrivances which he had prepared materially aided him in opposing it.

Unfortunately, two galleries which had been driven beneath the bastion of St. Mary eluded his vigilance, and at the first warning the defenders of that post received warning of an explosion which threw down the entire salient of the work. A battalion of Turks, who had been drawn up within their trenches, at once dashed forward with a wild shout of triumph, and, mounting the still smoking breach, gained the summit before the defenders had recovered sufficient presence of mind to withstand the onslaught. Here they planted their victorious standard, and, flushed with success, pushed forward with redoubled ardour to secure the remainder of the work. They were, however, brought to a check by the retrenchment behind, while the knights, now recovered from their momentary confusion, opposed a steady and obstinate resistance. At this critical

jecture the Grand-Master made his appearance on the scene. He had been engaged at mass in the chapel of St. Mary of Victory, and the alarm caused by the explosion had arisen at the moment when the officiating priest had intoned the prayer *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*. "I accept the augury," said he; and turning to his followers he added, "Come, my brethren, let us exchange the sacrifice of our prayers and praises for that of our lives, and let us die, if God so will it, in defence of our faith." Inspired by this exhortation, they rushed to the scene of strife, and hurled themselves into the midst of the contending battalions. Foremost in the fray was L'Isle Adam, his gigantic frame conspicuous amidst his compeers, as armed with a short pike he dashed at the foe, and by word and deed encouraged his followers to drive them back. A few moments of desperate strife sufficed to attest the superiority, both moral and physical, of the knights of St. John. Cowering under the withering storm, the Turks, no longer able to advance, nor even to maintain themselves where they were, gradually gave way until they were driven back in confusion over the breach which they had so shortly before surmounted in triumph. Mustapha Pasha, whose division had furnished the storming column, was watching the fortunes of the day from the advanced trenches, and had been congratulating himself upon the idea that Rhodes was won. He was not permitted long to indulge in this pleasant dream, and his fury as he beheld his battalions fleeing tumultuously from the scene of strife knew no bounds. Hastily drawing his scimitar, he rushed upon the foremost of the fugitives, cut down several with his own hands, rallied the remainder, and led them back once more to the attack. The advantage, however, had now been lost, so that it was not possible to

restore the fortunes of the day. Bravely he strove to penetrate within the ruined rampart, but in vain. The breach was now crowned by men well able to maintain it, and the baffled and discomfited columns of the Moslem were eventually forced to retire to their trenches.

It would be a tedious task to describe the constant succession of assaults by which Solyman endeavoured to regain the advantage lost on the first attempt. In each case the means employed both in the attack and defence were much the same. The sudden alarm, caused either by the explosion of a mine or the rush of a storming column, the hasty call to arms, the ringing of the bells, whereby the impending danger was notified to the garrison generally, the onset of the Moslem, the firm stand of the knights, the war-cry ringing out on either side, the roar of artillery, the rattle of small arms, the flashing of Greek fire and hissing of the seething pitch poured on the foe as they clambered over the breach—such were the usual concomitants of the scene; what need, therefore, to repeat the tale? The results are the only points of real importance, and these were invariably the same; though the assaulting columns numbered thousand and tens of thousands, selected from the flower of the Ottoman army, whilst the defenders consisted of but a handful of Christians, harassed and exhausted by their previous efforts, still the swarms of the infidel were invariably forced to recoil from the impassable barrier.

It is thus that Ahmed Hafiz describes some of the assaults:—"The Mussulmans descended into the ditch carrying their firearms with them, whilst the brave marksmen fired on all who dared to show their heads above the crest of the parapet. Clinging to the walls like polypi, the assailants mounted steadily under the storm

‘fire and steel which rained on them from the ramparts; the
‘noise of musketry, the discharge of cannon, the cries of the
‘combatants filled the air with a confused tumult. Not
‘content with receiving the victorious* with fire and steel,
‘the besieged also poured on them cauldrons of boiling
‘pitch and tar. The brave soldiers of Islam fell by
‘hundreds, and the angels opened the gates of Paradise to
‘their souls, for from the summit of the fortress were
‘hurled masses of rock and of metal upon the ladders
‘crowded with men. By midday the number of the dead
‘had become so great that it was necessary to suspend the
‘attack. The corpses of the Mussulmans were so numerous
‘that they were huddled into trenches without counting
‘them: but God certainly kept a pitying record of the
‘number of the faithful whom He that day received into
‘Paradise.” And again on another occasion: “In obedience
‘to the orders given, the victorious of Islam rushed to the
‘assault full of ardour. The fight was bloody. The dead
‘of the Mussulman army fell like rams destined to the
‘sacrifice under the terrible fire of the enemy’s guns. The
‘number of the wounded was untold; still the fortress
‘resisted the heroic efforts which were made against the
‘infidels, so that, exhausted, at length the victorious of
‘Islam were compelled to retire.” Once more: “The divi-
‘sion of Mustapha pasha having completed a mine, fired it.
‘The damage done was considerable. All the infidels who
‘defended this post were hurled up into the third heaven,
‘and their souls were plunged into hell. A large piece of
‘wall having fallen, the road was open for the victorious.
‘They threw themselves into the ditches, strove bravely to
‘mount the breach, and fought like heroes. Vain effort!

* Hafiz always speaks of the Ottoman forces as “the victorious,”
even when impartially recording their failures.

“They were forced to retire, leaving the ditch choked with the dead and inundated with their generous blood.”

It was thus that on the 13th, 17th, and 24th of September the most furious attempts were made to carry the town. Upon the 13th the attack was on the Italian quarter. On the 17th the English bastion of St. Mary withstood the violence of the assault, the Turcopoles John Buck falling victoriously at the head of his *langue*. Upon the 24th, in accordance with the proposals of Pasha Mehmed, the attack was made simultaneously on all sides. Even this gigantic effort failed. Although the besiegers were enabled to gain a footing on the rampart at several points, the success was in every instance but momentary and the impetuous onset of the defenders ended by restoring the fortunes of the day. The sultan had erected a scaffold, from the summit of which to witness the assault and he had fired his soldiery with a promise of the plunder of the entire city. This offer and the knowledge that they were fighting under the eye of their sovereign had roused them to the utmost pitch of enthusiasm. On the assailants were stimulated with the hope of gain and the prospect of distinction, the defenders on the other hand were nerved to the combat by their religious devotion and the energy of despair. Solyman had consequently the mortification of witnessing from his post of observation the utter discomfiture of his forces. Sounding retreat, he returned to his tent, and in the bitterness of his disappointment resolved to wreak his vengeance on those who had originally counselled the expedition. Pasha Mehmed and Mustapha were both condemned to death and it required the strongest efforts on the part of the other leaders to obtain a reversal of the decree. They were eventually banished from the camp and compelled

to return in disgrace to Asia. The pirate admiral Kurtoglu underwent the degradation of corporal punishment on the poop of his own galley, on the ground that he had neglected to aid the land forces by making a naval diversion.

Whilst the garrison were thus successfully maintaining their resistance, the first seeds of those disastrous results which eventually led to the loss of the town began to show themselves. Although before the commencement of the enterprise it had been reported by commissioners appointed to inspect the stores that there was ample powder for a twelve month's siege, it soon became apparent that the supply would before long fall short. In addition to the powder in the magazines, there were large stores of saltpetre within the town, and L'Isle Adam promptly established a manufactory of gunpowder. Even with this aid it soon became necessary to practise the most rigid economy in the expenditure of ammunition, and the efforts of the garrison were much impeded by this vital want. Curiously enough, we learn from Ahmed Hafiz that a similar difficulty arose in the besiegers' camp, and that their operations were for some time suspended whilst a portion of the fleet was engaged in fetching further supplies.

Treason also shortly began to display itself. The incident of the female slave already recorded had created a dread of some similar attempt recurring, and every one was on the alert. At length the Jewish doctor, who had contrived to maintain a correspondence with the Turkish leaders throughout the siege, was detected in the act of discharging a treasonable letter into the enemy's camp, attached to an arrow. The evidence against him was positive and conclusive; he was nevertheless subjected to torture. Under

its influence he confessed to having informed the enemy of the scarcity of ammunition, together with many other details tending to induce them to continue the siege. His fate was such as he richly deserved, but the mischief he had caused was not to be remedied. It is not surprising that in their desperate position the garrison should lend a ready ear to tales of treason. It was evident to all that spies were in the town; everything that occurred was made known to Solyman, who altered many details of his attack in consequence. They knew not where to look for the traitor, and each one glanced fearfully at his neighbour as though feeling that no one was to be trusted. At this crisis suspicion was directed against some of the chief dignitaries by a Spanish pilgrim, a woman of great reputed sanctity, who had lately returned from Jerusalem. She traversed the streets with bare feet, denouncing the leaders, and asserting that the calamities then befalling the town were due to the vengeance of God called down by the iniquities of some of their principal chiefs. No names were mentioned, but the general suspicion being thus turned in a particular direction, it required but little to create a victim.

Whilst the ferment was at its height, a servant of the chancellor D'Amaral, named Blaise Diaz, was detected on the bastion of Auvergne with a bow in his hand. As this was not the first time he had been seen under similar circumstances, he was arrested and brought before the Grand-Master. By his instructions the man was interrogated before the judges of the castellany, and under the influence of torture averred that he had been employed by his master to discharge treasonable correspondence into the enemy's camp. D'Amaral was arrested and confronted with the accuser, who repeated the charge. No sooner

the name of the chancellor bruited abroad than numbers rushed forward eager to add corroborative testimony. His arrogant conduct had created him enemies in every sphere of life, and now when suspicion had fallen on him all were ready to lend a helping hand to effect his destruction. A Greek priest deposed that he had seen the chancellor with Diaz on the bastion of Auvergne, and that the latter had discharged an arrow with a letter attached to it. The statement was also recalled that, at the election of Hsle Adam, D'Amaral had asserted he would be the last Grand-Master of Rhodes. On this testimony he also was subjected to torture, which he bore with unflinching fortitude, asserting that he had nothing to reveal, and that at the close of a life spent in the service of his Order he would not disgrace his career by the utterance of a falsehood to rescue his aged limbs from the rack. His firmness did not avail to save him, and he was condemned to death. Diaz, whose guilt there could be no doubt, was hanged and quartered on the 6th of November. D'Amaral, whose rank forbade so degrading a death, was sentenced to be beheaded. He was stripped of his habit in St. John's church on the 7th November, and on the following day executed in the great square.

Of the two contemporary writers who have given accounts of this siege, both of whom were eye-witnesses of the events they record, one, De Bourbon, asserts the guilt of the chancellor without doubt, and may be taken as the mouthpiece of the general opinion. The other, Fatanus, who was one of the judges appointed to investigate the charge, is very reticent and obscure on the point. A careful study of his work leads to the impression that he found no proofs of guilt in D'Amaral. Never, perhaps, was a man condemned on weaker evidence. The deposition

of his servant, who had been detected in a treasonable act and might naturally try to save himself by fixing the guilt on another, should have been received with grave suspicion. The testimony of the Greek priest was absolutely worthless. If he had previously witnessed the transmission of treasonable communications, why did he not denounce the criminal at once when treason was known to be fraught with such imminent danger? The explanation which D'Amaral gave of this man's evidence was, that it arose from spite, he having had to find fault with the looseness of the priest's lips. The improbability of a man in the position of the chancellor risking his life and reputation by employing a servant in such open treason seems too great for the fact to be readily accepted. One of the numerous accusations against him was, that he had reported falsely on the question of ammunition, he having been one of the three commissioners deputed to investigate the matter, and he was suspected of concealing some of the magazines. The recent explosion of powder stored in the vaults beneath St. John's church, the existence of which was unknown, has been brought forward in confirmation of his guilt. This incident appears, however, to add little, if anything, to the evidence. It is a matter of great doubt whether powder would ignite after a storage upwards of three centuries, and it seems much more probable that it had been placed there by the Turks at some considerably later period. Even if it could be traced back to the siege of 1522, there is nothing to connect it with D'Amaral. He was one of the committee to report on the quantity of powder within the fortress, but it is nowhere alleged that he had charge of it. At all events, had a large quantity been stored in these vaults at a time when its scarcity was so well known, there must have been many persons acquainted with the fact who would all have

ten parties to the treason, if treason there were. It seems to the whole that the chancellor D'Amaral fell an unfortunate and, as far as history can judge, an innocent victim to popular clamour.

Meanwhile the sultan was weighing in his own mind the advisability of abandoning the siege, and this design he might have carried into effect had he not been informed by an Albanian deserter of the state of destitution to which the town was reduced. This intelligence prompted him to persevere, and Achmet pasha was appointed to the command of the forces. Under his orders several fresh assaults were made, and in every case successfully resisted. Day by day the breaches became wider and the ramparts less tenable, the defenders fewer, and their vigour more and more exhausted. Hope had given way to despair, whilst the prospect of relief from Europe grew less and less; still the opposition remained as stubborn as ever, and Solyman began to fear that he would only enter the ruined city when the last of its garrison had fallen. For six months he had hurled all the gigantic resources at his command against its bulwarks; 60,000 men, it is computed, had fallen by sword and pestilence; and yet he found himself advancing step by step, only to meet ever-renewed obstacles.

Then, too, he could not expect that succour for the beleaguered would be much longer delayed. Owing to the disturbed state of Europe he had been permitted to carry on his attack hitherto unmolested, but he could not hope that this state of apathy would continue for ever. Under these circumstances, therefore, he eagerly acquiesced in the proposal of Achmet pasha that the town should be invited to capitulate. With this view he directed a Genoese named Monilio, who was in his camp, to undertake the

mission. Matters were prepared for him by the shooting of sundry letters into the town, in which the people were urged to surrender; life and liberty for all being promised in case of speedy compliance, and due vengeance being threatened in the event of protracted resistance. When these letters had had time to create their effect, Monilio presented himself one morning before the bastion of Auvergne, desiring an interview with Matteo de Via, one of the leading citizens of Rhodes. This request being refused, he began to urge those whom he was addressing to seek terms of capitulation. His proposals were refused, and he was informed that the knights of St. John were treated with the infidel sword in hand. Two days later he again made his appearance, bearing, as he said, a letter from the sultan to L'Isle Adam. This letter the Grand-Master declined to receive, and Monilio was informed that if he attempted any further parleying he would be fired at. No sooner, however, had it become noised abroad that the subject of capitulation had been mooted from the Ottoman camp, than a movement was started in the town to enforce its acceptance. There were not wanting those amongst the citizens who preferred life to the glory of further resistance, and they commissioned their metropolitan to urge upon the Grand-Master the necessity of treating with the enemy.

L'Isle Adam now found that it did not depend only on himself and his knights to continue the defence to the last. Without the concurrence of the townspeople this would be impossible, and that concurrence the archbishop assured him he could not obtain. A council was therefore summoned, and a deputation appeared before it, to present a petition, signed by the principal inhabitants, in which they implored the Order to provide for the safety of the

ves and children, and to rescue from the profanation of the infidel those holy relics which they all held in such high veneration. The petition closed with a threat that if the knights neglected to comply with its request the inhabitants would feel themselves bound to secure by their own efforts the safety of those dearer to them than life. On hearing this petition, L'Isle Adam called on Margigo and the prior of St. Gilles to report on the state of the fortress. Thereupon the engineer rose and asserted on his honour and conscience that he did not consider the place any longer tenable; that the slaves and other pioneers had been all either killed or wounded, so that it was no longer feasible to muster sufficient labour to move a piece of artillery from one battery to another; that it was impossible without men to carry on the necessary repairs to the ramparts; that their ammunition and stores were exhausted; and, lastly, that the enemy were already established within the lines at two points, from which they could not be dislodged. He was therefore of opinion that the city was lost, and should be surrendered. The prior of St. Gilles corroborated this statement in every particular.

The debate was long and stormy. Many were desirous of emulating the self-devotion of their predecessors by dying themselves beneath the ruins of Rhodes. Had the knights not been encumbered with a large and defenceless population this line of policy would have been adopted. As it was, however, there were others who felt that by such a decision they would be dooming to destruction those who had stood by them faithfully through the long struggle, and who were now entitled to consideration at their hands. Moreover, the question was not in reality within their power to decide. Should they protract the defence,

would the people stand tamely by and acquiesce in the own destruction? If the town were to be yielded they would obtain far better terms from the sultan by acting in concert than if he knew there were division in their councils. It was therefore decreed that the next offer of parley should be accepted, and that the Grand Master should be authorized to secure the best condition procurable.

The chiefs of Solymán's army were too desirous of putting a stop to the fearful effusion of blood which had now been going on for six months, and of obtaining possession upon almost any terms of the city, which seemed it were to recede from their grasp as they advanced, to keep the inhabitants long in suspense. Upon the 10th of December a white flag was hoisted on the top of a church standing within the Turkish lines, and this was at once answered from the town. Two Turks then advanced from the trenches, and were met by Martinigo and the prior St. Gilles. They tendered a letter containing the conditions offered by the sultan. In consideration of the instantaneous surrender of the town, he was prepared to permit the Grand-Master, with his knights, and such of the citizens of all ranks as might wish to accompany them, to leave the town unmolested, taking with them all their personal property. Those who elected to remain were guaranteed the undisturbed exercise of their religion and freedom from taxation for five years; the churches were to be protected from profanation, and all property secured from pillage. The letter concluded with the most fearful threats if the terms were not accepted. The council at once despatched an embassy to the Turkish camp, consisting of Anthony Grollée, the standard-bearer of the Order, and a Rhodian named Robert Perrucey. On the following day Solymán

mitted them to an audience, and a truce for three days was agreed on.

At this juncture, and whilst the terms of surrender were being discussed, a collision occurred between some portion of the garrison and the Turks, in which several of the latter were killed. It is not clear how this arose. Hafiz states that on that night a relieving force of fifteen galleys was arrived in the harbour, and that the attack was made by them. No allusion to such a reinforcement is made by any of the other historians; nor is it easy to see from whence they came. Be this as it may, the outbreak brought the truce to a premature close, the batteries re-opened fire, and everything was replaced on a hostile footing. Some prisoners who fell into the hands of the Turks had their fingers, noses, and ears cut off, and in that miserable plight were sent back into the town with a message that such was the treatment the besieged might now expect at the hands of the sultan. The recommencement of hostilities was followed up by an assault on the retrenchment of the Spanish bastion, still held by the knights. This took place on the 17th December, and the struggle was continued throughout the day, the Turks being once more worsted and forced to retire. On the following day they were more successful, for, the assault being renewed, they gained undisputed possession of the entire work.

Unable to control the panic of the multitude, L'Isle Adam was now compelled once again to open negotiations. Fresh envoys were despatched to Solyman with *carte blanche* to surrender the town on the best terms they could secure. Solyman received the messengers in his pavilion in all the splendour of imperial pomp, and consented to renew the terms he had previously made, which were at once accepted by the envoys. To insure the due execution of the treaty,

the Turkish army was to be withdrawn from the vicinity of the town, and only a select body of janissaries would enter the gates and take possession on behalf of the sultan. On their side the knights were to yield up peaceable possession not only of the city, but of all the islands dependent on Rhodes, as well as the castle of St. Peter at Budrum on the mainland. Twenty-five knights, of whom two must be grand-crosses, and a similar number of citizens were to be given as hostages for the due execution of the treaty; and as soon as these made their appearance in the Ottoman camp, the aga of the janissaries, with the specified number of troops, entered the town and took formal possession of it. This event took place on the 20th December 1522.

It seems, from the narrative of Ahmed Hafiz, that Solyman made his first entry into Rhodes on Christmas day, and he thus describes the event:—"Then the sublime sultan, preceded by the second regiment of janissaries and by his banners, which were adorned with fringes of gold, escorted by 400 of the Solouk bodyguard, by four Solouk chiefs, by four Kehayas, and forty Odobachis, all robed in white, their turbans glittering with rich jewels, entered the town to the sound of salvoes of artillery, and in the midst of a dense crowd. The rest of the bodyguard, the musicians, the officers of all the various corps followed the glorious Padishah, crying 'Allah, Allah! Thy will the glorious scimitar of Mohammed has captured this proud fortress.' In this manner the sultan went far as the temple of San Givan (the church of St. John) and there, where the infidels adored an idol, he, the blessed conqueror, addressed a prayer to the true God." The sultan made a second entry on the 29th December, which Hafiz thus describes:—"The sultan entered the town

the gate of Kysil Capou (the St. John or Cosquino gate) with the same pomp as on the first occasion; he visited the harbour, and admired the massive chain which closed it, and the engines of war which the infidels had made use of during the siege."

After this second visit, L'Isle Adam received a notification, through Achmet pasha, that he should forthwith pay his respects to the sultan in person. Unwilling as he was to submit to what he considered an act of degradation, he felt that at such a critical moment it would be most unwise to create any irritation in the mind of Solymán. He therefore, on the last day of the year, presented himself in the Ottoman camp, and demanded a farewell audience of his conqueror. Turkish pride kept the poor old man waiting at the entrance of the sultan's pavilion through many weary hours of that winter's day, and it required all the fortitude of L'Isle Adam's character to bear with composure the insult thus cast on him. At length, the vanity of Solymán having been sufficiently gratified, the Grand-Master was admitted, when the courtesy of his reception in some measure atoned for the previous slight, and he received the imperial presence with every mark of respect. The sorrow of the veteran, so natural on abandoning the cherished home of his Order, touched the sultan greatly, and he could not forbear exclaiming to his vizier, "It is not without some feelings of compunction that I compel this venerable warrior at his age to seek a new home." The interview is thus narrated by Hafiz: "On the 31st December the chief of the fortress, Mastori Mialo [a corruption of Meghas Mastoris, or Grand-Master], having obtained permission, came to take leave of the sublime sultan at a divan. The sultan desired to make him a gift

“of a large number of ingots of gold, precious stones, and other valuable offerings, and renewed his permission that the Order might make use of the galleys and other craft which had belonged to them, on condition, as he added with tears in his eyes, that the next day should see them quit the island. On this the chief of the infidels withdrew with a pensive mien, and left for Frengistan.

That sad event took place on the evening of the 23d of January, 1523; and thus the island of Rhodes, after having remained for two centuries in the occupation of the knights of St. John, once more reverted to the power of the Moslem. To the nations of Europe this loss was a subject of the deepest shame. Apathy and indifference had been suffered to continue during the six weary months that the struggle lasted, and its unfortunate issue remains a blot on the history of the sixteenth century. To the knights of St. John the event brought with it no such memory of disgrace. The gallant band which had so long withstood overwhelming odds was everywhere recognized and enthusiastically hailed by the admiring nations. As the struggle progressed, and its ultimate issue became more and more certain, men gazed with astonishment and awe upon that touching scene of heroism and endurance. When at length, driven from their home, sadly reduced in numbers, and ruined in prospects, the relics of that gallant band wandered westward in search of a new resting-place, they were everywhere greeted with the warmest welcome. The feeling of all was well expressed by the emperor Charles V., who, on hearing of the disastrous issue of the siege, turned to his courtiers and exclaimed, “There has been nothing in the world so well lost as Rhodes.”

CHAPTER IX.

1522—1565.

Departure of the Order for Candia, Messina, and Civita Vecchia—L'Isle Adam visits Madrid, Paris, and London—Malta ceded to the Order—Its antecedent history—Tripoli—Its disadvantages and dangers—Description of the harbours of Malta—Settlement of the convent in the Bourg—Death of L'Isle Adam—Election of Dupont, St. Gilles, and D'Omedes—Turkish descent on Malta—Destruction of the English *langue*—Election of La Sangle—Fortification of Senglea—Accession of La Valette—Preparations by Solyman for an attack on Malta—Description of its garrison and defences.

WHEN L'Isle Adam and his knights quitted Rhodes, about a thousand of the inhabitants elected to follow their lord into exile rather than remain under the sway of the Turk. Whilst on their way to Candia a violent storm overtook them, and several of the smaller craft were lost; others were only saved by throwing overboard a little property which the unfortunate refugees had received from the town, so that, when the scattered fleet reassembled at Spinalonga, there were many in it who were reduced to actual beggary. The governor of Candia welcomed the fugitives with the utmost hospitality, and assisted them in refitting and, as far as possible, repairing the damages caused by the storm. When this was accomplished, L'Isle Adam selected the port of

Messina as the next point of rendezvous. The larger vessels proceeded there direct under command of William Weston, who had been elected Turcopolier in place of Buck, killed during the siege; the Grand Master himself, with the mass of his followers, pursuing their course more leisurely. In token of the loss the Order had sustained, he substituted for the White Cross banner an ensign representing the Virgin with her dead son in her arms and beneath it the motto, "*Afflictus spes mea rebus.*"

The Grand-Master was welcomed by the Sicilian authorities with the same hospitality as had been displayed in Candia, and the viceroy announced that the emperor invited the fraternity to reside in the island as long as convenient. The plague, however, having broken out amongst the exiles, they were transferred to the gulph of Baïæ, whence, when the pestilence had subsided, they proceeded to Civita Vecchia. Here they remained for a period of nearly eight years whilst efforts were being made on all sides to procure for them a new home. During this interval L'Isle Adam visited France, Spain, and England, arriving in the latter country in the winter of 1526. He spent some days at the grand-priory in Clerkenwell, and paid his respects to Henry VIII., by whom he was received with the utmost cordiality, and the king made him a gift of artillery to the value of 2000 crowns.

At length it was determined by the emperor Charles V. to offer the fraternity the islands of Malta and its dependency Gozo, coupling the proposal with the condition that the city of Tripoli on the north coast of Africa should be included in the gift. Although the knights would much have preferred not being hampered with the lie

pt, they were not able to induce the emperor to withdraw the condition, and were reluctantly compelled to accept the gift with its encumbrance. An act of donation received the imperial signature at Syracuse on the 24th March, 1530, by which Charles vested in the Order of St. John the complete and perpetual sovereignty of the islands of Malta and Gozo and the city of Tripoli, together with all their castles and fortresses. The principal conditions attached to the gift were that the knights should never make war against the kingdom of Sicily, that they should annually present a falcon to the viceroy as an acknowledgment, and that the nomination to the bishopric of Malta should be vested in the emperor from amongst the candidates to be selected for the purpose by the Grand-Master.* Such were the terms on which Charles surrendered these islands, then almost valueless, to a community whose indefatigable perseverance and lavish expenditure were destined to convert one of them into the most powerful fortress in Europe.

When all preliminaries had been adjusted, L'Isle Adam set sail from Syracuse with the leading dignitaries of the Order, and landed in his new home on the 26th October, 1530. The first view which greeted the wanderers was not reassuring nor attractive. Accustomed as they had been to the luxuriant verdure of Rhodes, they were but ill-prepared for the rocky and arid waste which met their gaze in Malta. Few persons who now behold the island, teeming as it is with the commerce of Europe and Asia, presenting a busy scene of wealth and prosperity, with its massive defences rising in frowning tiers around its harbours, can picture to themselves the desolate and

This act of donation still exists in the palace at Malta, and is signed by the emperor Yo el Rey.

unprotected rock which fell into the possession of the Order of St. John in the year 1530.

The antecedent history of Malta is not important and may be very briefly narrated. It was originally colonized by the Phœnicians, and in many parts it is still rich in remains of that people. About 755 B.C., the Greeks returning from the siege of Troy, overran the Mediterranean, founded some cities in Calabria, and, among other acquisitions, established themselves in Malta, driving out the Phœnicians. Prior to this event the island had been known by the name of Ogygia, which was not changed into that of Melitas. It remained in undisturbed possession of the Greeks for 200 years, after which the Carthaginians succeeded in wresting it from their hands. In the second Punic war Sempronius drove out the Carthaginians, allowing the Greek inhabitants to remain. The island was attached to the government of Sicily, being ruled by a pro-prætor. Whilst under Roman sway, Malta attained a high pitch of civilization and refinement. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, within a short distance from the shores of the continents, it speedily became a thriving mart for much of the commerce of Rome. Its manufactures of cotton and linen, and its public buildings, chiefly temples erected in honour of its favourite deities, were justly celebrated throughout that part of the world. On the division of the Roman empire, Malta fell to the lot of Constantine, and from that moment its decadence began. In the fifth century it was seized successively by the Vandals and Goths, and although eventually Belisarius drove out the barbarians and once more restored Roman dominion, the island never recovered its former prosperity. In the early part of the ninth century

Saracens exterminated the Greek population, and established a Moslem government dependent on the Emir of Sicily. Much still remains that is Saracenic both in building and language to mark this period of occupation. Indeed, the Maltese as a race may be said to this day to partake more of the Arabic than the Italian type. At the close of the eleventh century, Count Roger the Norman expelled the Saracens and established a principality in Sicily and Malta, which was converted into a monarchy under his grandson. From that time the island followed the fortunes of the kingdom of Sicily through many changes of dominion, until at length it fell into the possession of Spain after the tragedy of the Sicilian Vespers.

Its decadence during these successive stages had been continuous, and when the emperor handed it over to the Isle Adam there was not much left to tempt the cupidity or aggression of neighbouring powers. It contained neither river nor lake, and was very deficient in springs. Its surface was almost bare rock with but little earth, and its vegetation in consequence poor and insignificant. Scarce a tree was to be seen throughout the island, save a few caroubas and shumacks, the eye straining in vain for a patch of green to relieve the glare of the white rock. The wretched villages in which the habitants dwelt, termed *casals*, partook of the general character of poverty and misery. Its western side was rugged and inhospitable, offering no shelter to shipping or even boats; but the east and north were broken up into numberless creeks and harbours, some of which were of sufficient capacity to afford anchorage to the largest fleets. This was indeed the great point of attraction to the knights. They had for so many years looked to

maritime enterprise as the principal source from whence their wealth and prosperity were to be derived; they had made their name so widely known and so highly esteemed in the waters of the Mediterranean, that they were not prepared willingly to resign the position which their naval superiority had given them by the establishment of a new home in any locality which did not afford facilities for pursuing their favourite calling. This and this alone, was the motive which induced them to accept the island of Malta as the site of their conversion. Nature had done everything, both in the central position of the island, and in the configuration of its eastern coast, to render it suitable for naval enterprise, and L'Isle Adam determined to strain every nerve to remedy the numerous disadvantages under which it otherwise laboured.

It would have seemed a sufficiently desolate outlook if the Order had it received these islands without encumbrance, but the emperor had insisted on the occupation of the city of Tripoli as an absolute condition of the transfer. The report of the commissioners despatched to inspect this new acquisition was eminently discouraging. Situated at a distance of more than 200 miles from Malta and surrounded by piratical enemies, it was not only scantily fortified, but seemed incapable of being much strengthened, as the sandy nature of the soil rendered the erection of ramparts and the sinking of ditches a matter of much difficulty. It was to be feared, therefore, that the garrison would run great risk of being overwhelmed before succour could reach them from Malta. Having, however, no option in the matter, they were compelled to accept this unwelcome addition to their responsibilities with all its disadvantages.

The first care which occupied L'Isle Adam on his arrival in Malta was the selection of a suitable and defensible position for his convent. The fortifications which he found existing were of the most paltry description. The Città Notabile, the chief town, situated on the summit of a hill in the centre of the island, as, it is true, surrounded by a rampart and ditch, but of so poor a character as to be almost worthless. The only other attempt at a defensive work was a little fort called St. Angelo, which, although considered the main protection to the island and its harbours, was very feeble, and only armed with a few small pieces of artillery.

In order the better to comprehend the locality here referred to, and the additions which were made under the directions of the Grand-Master, it will be well to enter into a short description of this portion of the island. The main harbour is divided into two parts by an elevated and rugged promontory called Mount Sceberras. The height of this tongue of land is such as to give it command over all the surrounding points. The eastern of the two ports thus formed is, in its turn, divided into three creeks by two minor promontories which jut out from the mainland on its eastern shore. Of these two peninsulas, the one nearest the entrance of the harbour was that on the point of which stood fort St. Angelo. Behind the fort, and extending back as far as the mainland, was a small town called the Bourg; the other promontory was called St. Julian, and was not in any way occupied. The western harbour, which did not present such facilities for safe anchorage as the main port, contained within it an island which greatly reduced its value. It was further much sub-

divided by the sinuosities of its coast line. On this side there was no attempt at any work of defence, or even habitation.

The practised eye of L'Isle Adam at once perceived the advantages of the position of Mount Sceberras dominating as it did both harbours, and, owing to its formation, secure from attack except on the land side. Here he naturally thought of establishing his convent and fortifying the promontory, but the funds necessary for such an undertaking were not forthcoming. The Order had for the preceding eight years led a wandering life, accompanied by a large body of Rhodians to the number of nearly 4,000. Most of these had subsisted mainly on the charity of the fraternity, which was distributed to them under the name of bread of Rhodes. This expenditure had seriously impoverished the treasury, so that L'Isle Adam now found himself absolutely unable to carry out any work of magnitude, even though of vital necessity. He therefore decided upon establishing himself, as a temporary measure, in the fort of St. Angelo, and fixing the convent in the adjacent Bourg. Such additions to the defences of the fort as his means permitted were at once constructed, and a line of intrenchment was drawn across the head of the promontory where it joined the mainland, so as to enclose the Bourg and cover it as far as possible from the neighbouring heights.

It was whilst thus engaged that L'Isle Adam brought his long and glorious life to a close. A violent fever induced that end which he had so often braved, but always escaped, at the hand of the Moslem. On the 22nd August, 1534, he expired, aged upwards of seventy years, to the intense grief of the whole

community. Never was chief so sincerely mourned; his heroism and grandeur of his character were such that the clouds of adversity only set it forth in greater light. The gallant defence of Rhodes, although ending in the worst disaster that had befallen the Order since the loss of Jerusalem, has been so imperishably connected with his name that he has gained more renown by his conduct during that calamitous epoch than many a successful leader. Amid the long list of Grand-Masters whose names have been written on the page of history, none have excelled, and but few have equalled, John d'Alvières de L'Isle Adam.

Peter Dupont, a member of a Piedmontese family, was elected to fill the vacant office. He was a man of great age at the time of his nomination, which he only survived little more than a year. During his brief rule a successful expedition against Tunis was carried out by the emperor Charles, in which the knights bore an important part.

The northern coast of Africa, abutting on the Mediterranean, had been first occupied by the Arabs during the latter part of the seventh century. The country had since then become gradually subdivided into several kingdoms, of which Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis were the most important. These principalities were now inhabited by a mixed race composed of Arabs, Moors, and negroes, and until of late years had not interfered in the politics of Europe, their very existence being little known and as little cared for. At the commencement of the sixteenth century, however, a revolution took place which materially altered their position. Two brothers, named Horuc and Hayraddin, Turkish inhabitants of Mitylene, prompted by a love of adventure,

had joined themselves to a band of pirates. Their daring and skill in this new calling soon raised them to the command of the force, which they gradually augmented until they became masters of a fleet of twelve galleys. Calling themselves the friends of the sea and enemies of all who sailed thereon, they scour the Mediterranean, and rendered their names terrible in every part of its waters. They were known by the surname of Barbarossa, from the redness of their hair. Increasing in ambition as their power extended, they at length seized upon Algiers, murdered the king, and Horuc, the elder, established himself on the vacant throne. At his death he was succeeded by his brother Hayraddin. The latter, not content with the position he had gained, rendered himself also master of the neighbouring kingdom of Tunis. Charles V., alarmed at this rapid concentration of power on the part of Hayraddin, undertook an expedition against him in his newly-acquired kingdom and succeeded in expelling him therefrom, replacing on the throne the monarch who had been dispossessed by the pirate. In this operation the knights of St. John greatly distinguished themselves, and returned to Malta laden with substantial marks of the emperor's satisfaction. They arrived there in time to see the last of their chief, who died shortly after.

He was succeeded by Didier de St. Gilles, a French knight, who never reached the *chef-lieu* after his nomination, but died at Montpellier, where he was residing for the benefit of his health. The vacancy gave rise to a warm contention in the choice of successor. The Spaniards, whose influence in the convent had of late wonderfully increased, owing to the

power of their emperor, were determined that a knight of their own *langue* should be chosen, and in spite of the opposition of the French they succeeded in carrying their point by nominating John D'Omedes, of the *langue* of Aragon, to the post. This knight had greatly distinguished himself during the siege of Rhodes, where he had lost an eye whilst defending the Spanish quarter.

During these years the condition of the city of Tripoli had never ceased to cause anxiety. Though everything had been done that the limited means of the order admitted, the place was still but feebly fortified. Each succeeding governor, as he returned to Malta, impressed on the council the necessity of taking further steps to strengthen the place. These representations became at length so urgent that the Grand-Master appealed to the emperor either to assist in increasing his power or to permit the knights to abandon it. In reply the emperor announced his intention of leading in person an expedition against Algiers, still the stronghold of Barbarossa. He trusted by crushing him to ensure the safety of Tripoli, and at the same time relieve his own maritime subjects from an incubus which had long weighed upon them. The disastrous result of this attempt, which ended in the almost entire loss of the fleet in a storm, as well as of a large portion of the land forces, rendered the position of Tripoli still more precarious. In this crisis the Grand-Master selected for the onerous post of governor a knight of the *langue* of Provence called John de la Valette, a name which subsequent events rendered one of the most illustrious in the annals of the fraternity. Even at that time he had much distinguished himself in numerous cruising expeditions against the Turks. The fate of Tripoli was

destined, however, to be postponed until after La Valette had been relieved from its government.

Meanwhile the convent at Malta itself had a narrow escape from capture. Barbarossa had died at Constantinople, and his lieutenant, Dragut, was appointed to the command of the Turkish fleet. Enraged at the loss of the fortress of Mehediah, in the siege of which the knights had borne a leading part, the sultan prepared an expedition for the purpose of driving the fraternity from their new home at Malta. Neither time nor means were available for D'Omedes to place the island in a proper state of defence. When, therefore, the Turkish fleet, under Dragut anchored off the island on the 16th July, 1551, very few additions had been made to the feeble fortifications with which the Bourg and the castle of St. Angelo were protected. The troops were disembarked and marched directly on the Città Notabile, in the centre of the island, intending to commence their operations by its capture. Fortunately, before this had been accomplished, intimation reached the Turkish commander that a large fleet had set sail for the relief of the island. This intelligence, which was false, so terrified Dragut that he abandoned the siege, and re-embarked his army with the utmost expedition.

The descent upon Malta having thus failed, Dragut directed his course towards the city of Tripoli, determined to capture and destroy it, so as not to return to Constantinople empty-handed. The governor of Tripoli at the time was a French knight named Gaspard la Vallier, then marshal of the Order. To the summons of the Turks he returned a disdainful answer, and the siege was begun in due form. Dragut made the greatest possible efforts, and the works were pushed forward with the most ominous

rapidity. Treachery within the town aided the designs of those in its front, and eventually La Vallier was forced to that for a capitulation. The most honourable terms were granted, but when the time came for their fulfilment they were basely violated, and the garrison, with most of the inhabitants, were made prisoners. The general feeling at the loss of Tripoli was so very bitter in Malta, that when La Vallier arrived there, after having been ransomed by the French ambassador at the Porte, he was stripped of his habit and imprisoned.

Whilst these events were taking place, the course of the religious revolution in England, which had been for a long time seething, reached its climax. The quarrel between the king and the Pope had already assumed the most threatening aspect even before the death of L'Isle Adam, and fears for the security of the English *langue* had embittered the last moments of that venerable chief. Since ten matters had rapidly developed, and the Reformation had become an accomplished fact. An institution like the Order of St. John, maintaining fealty to the papacy, was not likely to remain long undisturbed under the new regime. Henry VIII., even before his quarrel with the pope, had shown a strong inclination to interfere in the affairs of the fraternity in England; now the moment had arrived when a plausible pretext was afforded for seizing its property.

There still exists in the Record Office of Malta a document dated 7th July, 1538, addressed by the king to the Grand-Master, which deals fully with the subject.

It begins by styling Henry the supreme head of the Anglican church and protector of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. It then goes on to declare—1. That for himself and his successors he gives licence to brother

William Weston, grand-prior of the priory of England, to confer the habit and receive the profession requisite to admit such English subjects as may desire to enter the Order under the usual conditions, provided always that such postulant shall have been previously required to take an oath of allegiance to the said monarch as his supreme lord, in accordance with the form duly instituted for that purpose, which oath the king exacts from all his subjects, whether lay or clerical. 2. That any person nominated by the Grand-Master in council to a commandery situated within the limits of the kingdom of England shall of necessity obtain a confirmation of his appointment from the king. Such newly-appointed commander will be required to pay the revenues of the first year, accruing from his commandery, into the king's treasury, nor will his nomination to the commandery be ratified until he shall previously have taken the oath of allegiance, and paid the said year's revenue, or at all events have given due security for its future payment. 3. It shall not be lawful for the Order of St. John to make eleemosynary collections (as alluded to in Chap. IV., under the title of *confraria*) within the realm of England, unless in virtue of a royal warrant, which warrant shall contain the express clause that such collection was not made in pursuance of any bull from the Roman pontiff, but under letters patent emanating from the king of England. 4. Those brethren holding or hereafter promoted to commanderies within the realm of England shall, after payment of the first year's revenues into the king's treasury, transfer those of the second year to the treasury of the Order for the general maintenance and support of the convent, with the reservation of such annual tithes as the king retains to

himself from all the commanderies within his kingdom.

Those brethren holding or hereafter promoted to commanderies within the realm of England shall not cognize, support, or promote the jurisdiction, authority, rank, or title of the bishop of Rome. 6. That every year chapter of the priory shall be held, in which all crimes committed by the fraternity within the realm of England shall be examined into and duly punished; and if any offending brother shall consider himself aggrieved by the sentence of the chapter, he shall appeal either to the ear of the king or to the conservator of the privileges of the Order of St. John duly appointed by the king.

A very cursory study of these clauses will show both the subtlety and rapacity of those by whom they were drawn up. The fifth clause was in itself amply sufficient to prevent any member of the Roman Catholic Church from holding office or emolument within the kingdom of England; but, as though the monarch feared lest the members of the Order might be possessed of consciences sufficiently elastic to take the oath, he secures for himself a ample provision from the revenues of the commanderies, payment of which would be enforced even upon the most compliant. Had the knights of St. John been in the habit of yielding any annual tithes or contributions to the See of Rome, it would have been but natural that the king of England, when he assumed to himself the papal functions within his realm, should at the same time have transferred to his own treasury such payments. This, however, had never been the case. From the earliest period of its institution the brotherhood had been exempted by papal authority from any demand for ecclesiastical tithe or contribution, and this exemption had been continued and confirmed from time to

time ever since. Henry, therefore, in exacting the payment of tithes, was arrogating to himself a privilege such as had never been assumed by the pontiffs of Rome, even in the days of their most dictatorial authority.

It is greatly to the credit of the *langue* that they did not permit the natural desire of retaining their large possessions in England to outweigh their sense of religious duty. Hard as the terms were which Henry was endeavouring to impose on them, they were such as many men would have deemed preferable to absolute confiscation; but the Order of St. John was not prepared to admit any such compromise between its duty and its interests. It had been reared in the bosom of the Church of Rome, it had been nurtured by the protection of each successive pontiff, and now that a storm had burst over the head of the father of the Church which befitted fair to deprive him of the spiritual allegiance of an important section of his flock, the knights were not prepared to abandon his cause for the sake of retaining their worldly advantages. The terms offered by Henry were peremptorily declined, and the *langue* of England, which had been so long considered one of the brightest adjuncts of the Order, and of which the historian Boswell, an Italian, and therefore an unbiassed witness, has recorded "*Così ricco nobile e principal membro come sempre era stata la venerabile lingua d'Inghilterra,*" was lost to the fraternity. A general sequestration of its properties took place, accompanied by much persecution. Some perished on the scaffold, others lingered in prison, and the remainder, homeless and destitute, found their way to Malta, where they were received with all brotherly kindness and consideration. By an Act of Parliament dated in April, 1540, all the possessions, castles, manors,

churches, houses, &c., of the Order of St. John were vested in the Crown; out of this revenue pensions to the amount of £2,870 were granted to the late Lord-Prior and to other members of the institution.

The close of the rule of D'Omedes was marked by the addition of several considerable works to the defences of Malta. A commission, which had been appointed to investigate the subject, reported that, although the Bourg was enclosed by a rampart and ditch, it was nevertheless commanded by the rocky extremity of the peninsula of St. Julian, which ran parallel to that on which stood the castle of St. Angelo. They, therefore, strongly urged the necessity of establishing a fort on this promontory. Mount Scceberras also required occupation so as to deny an enemy the use of the harbour on the other side, called the Marsa Musceit, or Muscette. Their recommendations on this head included the occupation of the entire peninsula, but the funds in the treasury did not admit of so extensive work. Forts were, however, erected at the extremity of each promontory; that on Mount Scceberras being called St. Elmo, and that on the peninsula of St. Julian, St. Michael; their further recommendations as to an increase in the works of the Bourg and St. Angelo were so adopted.

In order to carry out these additions with the greater vigour, the three commissioners each took charge of a separate portion of the works, and, assisted by other knights, pushed forward the construction with the utmost rapidity. Don Pedro Pardo, a celebrated Spanish engineer, designed the forts, to the rapid completion of which every one devoted his utmost energies. The cliffs and other grand-crosses contributed the gold chains from which the insignia of their rank were

suspended, as also a large portion of their plate; other knights followed their example, subscribing liberally from their private resources. The galleys were retained in port, so that their crews, principally slaves, might be employed in the building operations. The result was so satisfactory, that in the month of May in the following year, 1553, the forts of St. Michael and St. Elmo and the bastions at the head of the Bourg were completed and armed.

D'Omedes died on the 9th September, 1553, at the advanced age of ninety, and was succeeded by the grand hospitaller, Claude de la Sangle. During the first year of his rule an evanescent prospect sprang up of the revival of the English *langue*. The death of the young king Edward VI. having placed his sister Mary on the throne of England, she, being a zealous Roman Catholic, despatched ambassadors to Malta to treat for the resuscitation of the *langue*, promising at the same time a restoration of its sequestered lands. To this proposition the council of the Order naturally assented, and for a few brief years it seemed as though it was about to resume its former status. But this was not to be. The death of Mary crushed all the rising hopes of the fraternity, for on the accession of Elizabeth it was again suppressed in a still more formal and complete manner.

The successful forays which the galleys of Malta carried out under La Valette, who had been appointed by Claude de la Sangle to their command, so far enriched the treasury that it was decided to develop still further the fortifications erected by D'Omedes. Both at St. Elmo and at the Bourg considerable additions were made, but the main efforts were directed to the further strengthening of the promontory of St. Julian. D'Omedes had erected

its extremity a fort called St. Michael; but this was not deemed sufficient, as the whole peninsula was much exposed to the neighbouring height of Coradino. To remedy this La Sangle constructed a bastioned rampart along the side of the promontory facing those heights, and he enclosed its neck in a similar manner. This work he carried out mainly at his own expense. The fraternity, in grateful commemoration of the fact, named the enceinte thus formed and the town which rapidly sprang up within it after its public-spirited chief. From that day it has been known as the Ile de la Sangle, since christianized into Senglea.

La Sangle died in 1557, and was succeeded by John Parisot de la Valette, who, during the last year of his predecessor's rule, had filled the office of lieutenant of the Mastery, holding at the same time the grand-priory of St. Gilles. His name of Parisot was derived from his father's fief, but he is far better known to posterity by the family name of La Valette, which his deeds have rendered so famous. He was born in the year 1494, of a noble family of Quercy, and entered the Order at the age of twenty; he had been present at the siege of Rhodes in 1522, and followed the fortunes of the knights through their various wanderings after the loss of that island. Indeed, it is recorded of La Valette that from the day of his first profession to that of his death he never once left the convent except when cruising with the fleet. His successes as a naval commander soon singled him out from among his compeers, and he had by his own unaided merits raised himself step by step through the various dignities of the Order until he now found himself elected its forty-seventh Grand-Master.

Many important advantages were about this time

gained by the Spaniards on the north shores of Africa in all of which the knights had borne a conspicuous part. The Moors appealed to the sultan for aid, and suggested that he should wreak his vengeance on the Order of its island home. At this crisis an event occurred which though apparently insignificant, sufficed to determine the enraged sultan on immediate action. The Maltese galleon had succeeded after a severe struggle in capturing a Turkish galleon, armed with twenty guns and manned by 200 janissaries. This galleon was the property of the chief eunuch of the sultan's harem, and several of its fair inmates held shares in this valuable cargo, which Spanish historians have estimated at over 80,000 ducats. All the power of the seraglio was therefore exerted to induce Solymán to avenge the affront by a signal chastisement ; and the attack on Malta, when pleaded for by bright eyes and rosy lips, was at length decreed. He determined, as a fitting close to that long and glorious reign, which had earned for him the title of Magnificent, to drive the knights from their new acquisition, as he had in the commencement of his reign driven them from Rhodes. His preparations for this undertaking were made upon a most formidable scale, and the attention of Europe was speedily drawn to the vast armament collecting in the port and arsenal of Constantinople. The uncertainty as to its destination filled the maritime provinces of the Mediterranean with alarm, and on every side precautions were taken for defence in case of need.

La Valette who, in accordance with the practice of his predecessors, always maintained spies in Constantinople, soon discovered that Malta was the point of attack. He at once despatched emissaries to the courts of Europe to crave assistance ; but with the exception of

the Pope, who contributed 10,000 crowns, and Philip of Spain, who sent a small body of troops, these appeals were unavailing, and he soon found that it was to his own Order alone that he would have to trust for the defence of the island; still, undeterred by the lukewarmness of Europe, he set himself to meet the storm as best he might. The front of Senglea on the land side was greatly strengthened, and the ditches of the Bourg were deepened. La Valette also constructed a battery of three guns below fort St. Angelo, nearly on a level with the water's edge, to flank the front of fort St. Michael. This battery during the siege proved most valuable at a very critical moment.

Meanwhile he had summoned his *confrères* from all their European commanderies, and the call was obeyed with the utmost enthusiasm. They poured into Malta from all quarters, and contributions were sent by those who, from age or infirmity, were unable to render personal service. The Sicilian viceroy, Don Garcia de Toledo, who was on a visit in the island, pledged himself to render prompt assistance as soon as a sufficient force could be collected. He left his own son under charge of the knights to gain his first experience of war in the strife about to commence. A careful examination of the forces within the city was made, and with this view a general parade of the *langues* was held, at which 474 knights and 67 servants-at-arms were present. Of these only one was an Englishman, Oliver Starkey, Latin secretary to La Valette, by whose side his own remains are laid in the crypt of St. John's church in Malta. This number of knights was eventually increased by nearly 100 through subsequent reinforcements. The militia of the island had been trained and organized into battalions,

as were also the crews of the galleys. It was found upon a muster of the forces, that, in addition to the members of the Order, the garrison consisted of about 1,200 regular troops, and nearly 7,000 militia and volunteers. It will thus be seen that, on the whole, La Valette could count upon a strength of about 9,000 men for the defence of the island.

A general description of the two great ports of Malta has already been given. It will now be well, before narrating the siege, to describe more particularly the means of defence which the knights had during a period of thirty-five years been able to develop. The castle of St. Angelo was cut off from the mainland by means of a wet ditch which had been excavated through the promontory. In addition to the castle itself, which presented three tiers of batteries to the entrance of the harbour, there was an enceinte containing four bastions. The Bourg was protected on the land side by a strong line of bastioned rampart with ditch. On its northern side it was also enclosed with a similar rampart; but the line looking towards Senglea was a mere curtain without flanks. The land front of the Bourg was allotted to the three French *langues*. Germany and Castile divided between them the sea front, and Spain was posted on the front facing Senglea (since destroyed as being practically useless). The garrison of St. Angelo consisted of 50 knights and 500 men, and here, as the citadel, La Valette took up his abode.

The promontory of Senglea was defended by a very respectable sea front, formed by what had originally been the detached fort of St. Michael. The remainder of its enceinte was little more than an indented line, except on the land side, where it threw out a bastion.

It was garrisoned along its land front by the *langue* of Aragon, the remainder of the line being taken by Italy, and the whole being under the command of the grand-admiral de Monte. Fort St. Elmo, at the extremity of Mount Scceberras, was on a star trace of four points, to the seaward of which was a cavalier dominating the port, and on the western side a ravelin connected with the main work by a bridge. The small garrison had been commanded by an aged knight named de Broglio. At this crisis, La Valette augmented its strength by two companies of foreign troops under the command of a Spaniard named la Cerda, and by sixty knights under Eguarras, the bailiff of Negropont, who was selected to aid de Broglio under the title of captain of succours. There yet remained the Città Notabile and the island of Gozo to protect, and opinions were much divided in council whether to retain or abandon them. La Valette firmly decided on the former course; their garrisons were reinforced and placed under the command of knights whose constancy and determination he knew he could confide in. The commander Romegas, one of the most daring naval captains the Order possessed, undertook the defence of the port of the galleys. This harbour was the portion of water enclosed between the Bourg and Senglea, and there all the galleys were drawn up at anchor. Its entrance was closed by a massive chain, which stretched from point to point.

All being thus prepared, La Valette assembled his knights together, and, in that glowing language which is ever the outpouring of real earnestness, called upon them to stand firm in the good cause they had adopted at their profession, and if they were now called on to sacrifice their lives, to consider it a duty and a privilege to do so.

At the close of his address he led the way to the conventual church, where they solemnly partook of the Holy Communion. As they stood round their venerable chief the remembrance of many a gallant struggle was warred within their hearts. The scenes which had been witnessed at Jerusalem, Margat, Acre, Smyrna, and Rhodes were once more to be enacted, and the devoted band resolved with one accord that the renown of their Order should suffer no diminution from their conduct during the coming crisis.

CHAPTER X.

SIEGE OF MALTA, 1565.

Disembarkation of the Turkish force—Siege of St. Elmo commenced—Heavy battering train—Arrival of Dragut—Capture of the covered way and ravelin—First assault and its failure—Petition to La Valette for relief—Its refusal, and consequent insubordination—Return to obedience—Repeated assaults—The fort cut off from succour—Dragut mortally wounded—Fall of St. Elmo—Massacre of the garrison.

In the morning of the 18th May, 1565, a signal gun from the castle of St. Angelo, answered from the forts of St. Michael and St. Elmo, announced to the inhabitants of Malta that the enemy's fleet was in sight. This consisted of 130 galleys and fifty smaller vessels, together with a number of transports laden with artillery and stores. The troops amounted to upwards of 30,000 men, of whom 500 were janissaries. The command of the fleet was given to the Turkish admiral, Piali, whilst the army was led by Mustapha, a veteran general on whose skill and judgment the sultan placed the utmost reliance.

After some little cruising backward and forward, the Turks eventually disembarked partly in the Marsa Scirocco and partly in St. Thomas's bay, whence they at once advanced upon the town. Counsels were divided in their camp as to the course to be pursued. Before leaving

Constantinople, Solyman had instructed both Mustapha and Piali to pay the utmost attention to the advice of the corsair Dragut, who was to join the expedition after landing. As he had not yet arrived, Piali was of opinion that no active measures should be taken in his absence but that they should simply intrench their position. Mustapha, on the other hand, pointed out that the fleet lay in a very exposed position in Marsa Scirocco, and that it would be most advisable to obtain possession of the *Mar Muscette*, to do which it was necessary to capture *St. Elmo*, which commanded its entrance. These views prevailed, and the attack on that work commenced in due form.

Mount Sceberras being but a bare rock, the Turkish engineers were unable to open their trenches in the ordinary manner. Gabions, fascines, and even earth, had all to be brought from a distance, a task of enormous labour; but by dint of perseverance, and at a great sacrifice of life from the galling and incessant fire of the fort, the work was at length accomplished. The siege operations at this point were very unskilfully designed. To shelter the trenches from the fire of *St. Angelo*, they were kept on the reverse side of the hill, and thus left open the communication between that fortress and *St. Elmo*. Of recent years a subterranean communication has been discovered, the mouth of which was concealed amongst the rocks facing *St. Angelo*. An outlet has also been found in that part of *St. Elmo* which formed the original fort. Although the passage has not been traced throughout, it being filled with *débris*, there can be little doubt that it was by this channel the communication between the two forts was maintained, under cover of night. This would have been impracticable had the Turkish lines overlooked the harbour.

and the error led to a protracted and bloody siege before work which should have been taken in a few days.

The trenches being at length completed, a battery was constructed to bear against the points selected for attack, at a distance of less than 200 yards. It was armed with three guns throwing 80 lb. shot, three columbines for 60 lb. shot, and one basilisk for 160 lb. shot. The guns and columbines were mounted on wheels, but the basilisk required complicated machinery for pointing, and also to check recoil. The Turks in that age made more use of artillery than any other nation, and their guns were of enormous calibre; the labour of placing them in position was consequently very great, and their firing slow; still, at short ranges their battering power was terrific. The assault soon showed itself in the breaches, which were stormed both in fort and ravelin, the ditches of which were choked with the *débris*.

The slender force which held the fort was clearly insufficient for its adequate defence, and D'Eguarras dispatched La Cerda as an envoy to demand further aid. That knight, who was not free from the suspicion of cowardice, announced in open council, not only that further reinforcements were imperatively required, but also that under the most favourable circumstances the place could not hold out many days. La Valette was justly irritated with the injudicious envoy for thus publishing what should have been reserved for the ear of his chief alone. He was so much disappointed at this speedy demand for succour before any assault had been delivered. At the same time he felt that he could not refuse the demand, and at first determined to head the reinforcements himself. He was at length with some difficulty induced to forego the intention, and to content himself with sending 50 knights a

200 Spanish troops, under the command of Gonzales de Medrano, a knight on whose intrepidity La Valette felt he could place implicit reliance.

At this moment Dragut arrived with thirteen galleys and 1,500 troops. Much to the mortification of Mustapha, he condemned the steps that had been taken. He thought that the island of Gozo and the Città Notabile should have been first secured, so as to protect the rear, and prevent the knights from drawing in reinforcements. Now, however, that the siege of St. Elmo had been begun, he decided that it should be persevered in and prosecuted with vigour. Under his directions a second and still more formidable battery was erected on one of the highest points of Mount Sceberras to play both on St. Elmo and St. Angelo. He also constructed a small battery for four guns on the point of land forming with St. Elmo the entrance to the Marsa Muscetta harbour, and which, in consequence, has ever since been called point Dragut.

Medrano's first operation after entering St. Elmo was to lead a sortie against the enemy's batteries. This was at the outset successful; the Turks were taken by surprise and routed, their parapets thrown down, and the result much labour destroyed. Before long, however, the besiegers rallied, and in their turn drove Medrano back into the fort, taking advantage of the shelter of the small fort to establish themselves in the covered way. A heavy fire was at once opened on them, but in vain; the covered way was permanently lost, and became included in the Turkish lines, which were thus brought close to the walls. A few days later the ravelin itself was taken by surprise, and the defenders forced to seek refuge in the fort, while they were hotly pursued by the Turks. But for

heroic efforts of one of the Spanish officers, who, standing at the entrance of the drawbridge, withstood for some moments almost single-handed the rush of the enemy till he was supported from within, St. Elmo would on that day have fallen. The most powerful efforts were made on either side: the knights striving to retake the ravelin, and the Turks to complete the capture of the fort. Neither were successful; the besiegers were enabled to complete their lodgment in the ravelin, but could not gain any further ground.

On the following morning, the Turks, stimulated by their recent successes, made a determined dash at the fort, trying to carry it by escalade. This was an operation unlikely to succeed against such men as those who were maintaining St. Elmo; their ladders, moreover, were not long enough to reach the crest, still they struggled with the most invincible resolution. Here and there a Turk, more daring or more agile than his fellows, would gain a momentary footing on the parapet, but before his comrades could support him he was hurled headlong downwards. Boiling pitch and wildfire streamed upon the mass congregated in the ditch, huge pieces of rock were dropped on them, and all the savage ferocity of war was let loose. The castle of St. Angelo was thronged with anxious spectators, eagerly straining their eyes to cover the issue of the fight. Amidst the roar of artillery, the volleys of arquebuses, the screams, shouts, and yells of the combatants, little could be distinguished to mark how the tide of battle turned, as a dense canopy of smoke hung over the fort, only rent at intervals by the flashes of the guns. It was not until the sun had declined towards the west that they were able to discover the actual state of the siege. Finding all efforts to carry the

fort unavailing, a retreat was then sounded, and the Turks withdrew sullenly to their trenches, whilst the gazers saw with joy that the White Cross banner still floated over the fort and cavalier.

As soon as the darkness permitted, La Valette sent boats from the Bourg to remove the wounded, and to replace them by a second reinforcement, commanded by a knight named Miranda. He had recently come from Sicily, in company with a messenger sent by Don Garcia to inform La Valette that he would himself arrive in Malta by the middle of June if the Grand-Master would send him the fleet of galleys then cooped up within the port. La Valette was grievously disappointed at the condition with which the viceroy had hampered his promise of aid. To despatch the galleys thus demanded he would be obliged to man them with their crews, whose services within the fortress were urgently required. Such a diminution of his scanty garrison could not for a moment be thought of, and La Valette sent off an appeal for unconditional assistance.

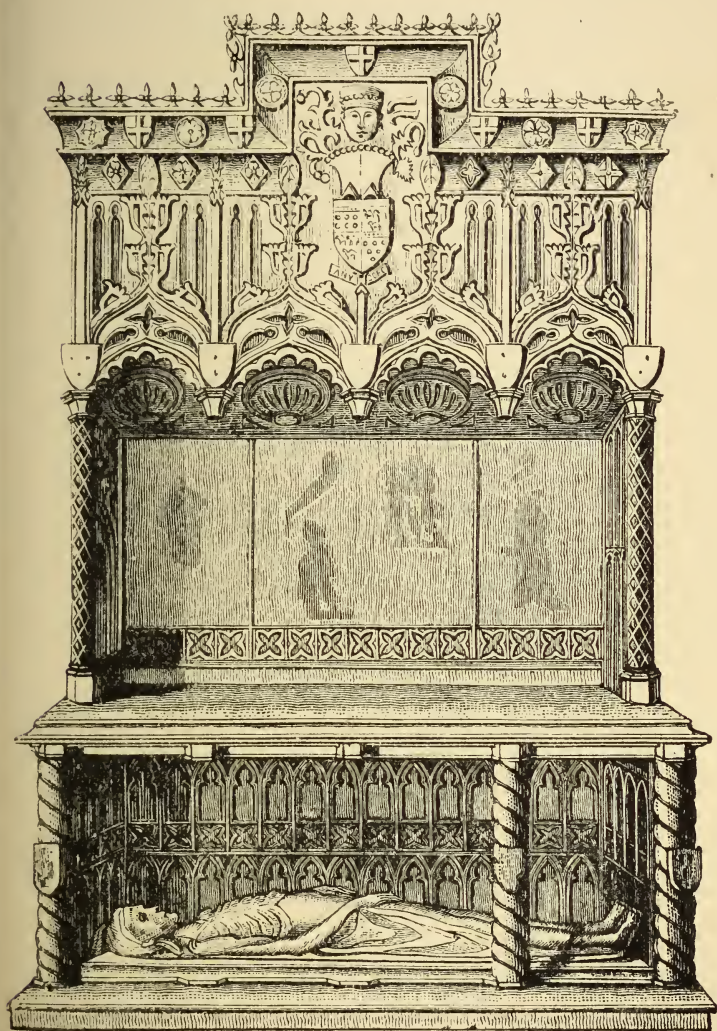
Meanwhile he spared no effort to prolong the defence of St. Elmo. Now that the covered way and ravelin had fallen into the possession of the enemy, it was difficult for the garrison to find shelter from the pitiless storm of missiles that rained upon them. Had it not been for the promptitude with which La Valette poured his reinforcements into the fort, its defenders would have melted away before the murderous fire of the besiegers. In this emergency Miranda proved himself a valuable acquisition, and his ingenuity was displayed in the numerous devices by which he succeeded in securing cover from the Turkish artillery. Meanwhile the fire from the large batteries, which played upon the exposed

carps of the work, had gradually reduced them to a state of ruin. The bravest now felt that enough had been done to retard the capture of the crumbling fort, and that the time had arrived when, unless they were to be buried beneath the ruins, they should be withdrawn, and the post abandoned to the enemy.

The reputation of Medrano being such that his report could be free from all suspicion of panic, he was selected to return to the Bourg and explain to the Grand-Master the desperate state of affairs. La Valette could not but feel that all had been done which ingenuity could devise to protract the defence, and that the fort had been maintained against overwhelming odds with the utmost constancy. It was also evident that if the lives of the garrison were not to be deliberately sacrificed, they should now be recalled; still, he could not bring himself to direct the abandonment of the place. By its maintenance, the siege of the Bourg was being deferred, and the time prolonged during which the succours so anxiously expected from Sicily might arrive. So much, indeed, hung on the issue, that he felt compelled to suppress all feelings of compassion, and leave his brethren to their fate by maintaining St. Elmo at all costs until it should be captured by force. He therefore directed Medrano to return to his post, and point out to his comrades the absolute necessity for their holding out to the last extremity. When this stern decree became known, the garrison perceived that they were being deliberately sacrificed for the general safety; loud and angry were the exclamations of astonishment and indignation which arose on all sides. This insubordination did not find vent merely in idle murmurs. That same night a petition was forwarded to the Grand-Master, signed by

fifty-three of their number, urging him to relieve them instantly from their untenable post, and threatening, in case of refusal, to sally forth and meet an honourable death in open fight rather than suffer themselves to be buried like dogs beneath the ruins of St. Elmo. La Valette was highly incensed at the insubordinate tone of this document. Fearful, however, lest the recusants should in reality execute the threat they held out, and being anxious to prolong, if only for a day, the retention of the fort, he despatched three commissioners to inspect and report on its condition and power of further resistance.

On arrival, two of the three, struck by the demolition which met the eye on all sides, decided unhesitatingly that the place was no longer tenable. The third, an Italian named de Castriot, was of a different opinion. He stated that although the fort was unquestionably in a shattered state, still it was, he thought, feasible by means of further retrenchments to maintain it. The statement appeared to the malcontents little better than an insult, and high words ensued, de Castriot asserting that he was prepared to back his opinion by personally conducting the defence. This offer raised such a storm of indignation, that a general tumult seemed about to break forth, when the governor, with much presence of mind, caused the alarm to be sounded, on which each one rushed instantly to his post, and the irritating conference was brought to a close. The commissioners returned to the Bourg, where de Castriot still maintained the views he had put forth, and requested leave to enlist a body of volunteers, with whose aid he guaranteed to maintain St. Elmo against any odds. This gallant offer met the ideas of La Valette, and permission was



MONUMENT OF SIR WILLIAM WESTON, FORMERLY IN ST. JAMES'S
CHURCH, CLERKENWELL.

[To face page 342.]

granted to de Castriot to raise his corps. Meanwhile, a letter was forwarded to the garrison of St. Elmo, informing them of the steps that were being taken, and stating that they would shortly be relieved from their position.

The consternation caused by this letter was great, as every one felt it would be impossible to accept the offer of safety thus ignominiously tendered. They had requested permission to abandon the fort, but were not prepared to yield their places to others. An earnest letter was therefore instantly forwarded to the Bourg, imploring pardon for their mutinous conduct, and pledging themselves, if allowed to remain at their post, to hold it to the very last. This was all that La Valette desired, and he felt the defence of St. Elmo was now safe in their hands. Contenting himself, therefore, with sending a further strong reinforcement into the work, he prepared to await the issue. These incidents had occurred on the nights of the 13th and 14th June.

At length Mustapha gave instructions for a general assault. During the whole of the 15th June the Turkish artillery played so furiously that the defenders were unable to repair any of the damages; this cannonade, towards evening, was further increased by fire from the fleet. Confident of carrying the fort on the following day, Mustapha had ordered up the squadron from the Marsa Scirocco to be ready to force its way into the Marsa Muscette as soon as the assault was delivered. These and other unmistakeable symptoms warned the besieged of the impending attack. They therefore took every precaution during the night of the 15th to resist it to the death. The knights were told off so that one of them should stand between every three soldiers to direct the defence.

Huge piles of rock were collected, to be hurled on the besiegers' columns whilst in the ditch. Various descriptions of fireworks were provided, and amongst them pots of earthenware filled with wildfire, which were of a size that admitted being thrown by hand from twenty to thirty yards. Before hurling the missile a match was lighted, so that on the pot breaking its contents became ignited, burning with the utmost fury, and clinging to the bodies of those with whom it came in contact. The same material was placed in cylinders of wood called trumps attached to the ends of halberds or partizans; when lighted they poured forth streams of flame, and became formidable obstacles to the advance of a storming party. Another missile was a large hoop, surrounded with flax steeped in inflammable matter. This, when ignited and hurled from above on to a crowded mass of men, often enclosed several in its fiery embrace and set fire to their clothes, which, after the Eastern fashion, were light and flowing.

Before dawn on the morning of the 16th the knights detected the sounds of a religious ceremonial, which they rightly judged was the immediate precursor of an assault. Shortly afterwards, at a signal given by Mustapha himself, a body of janissaries, the leaders of the column, rushed from the trenches into the ditch. During the brief interval in which they were crossing the open ground the guns of St. Angelo, directed by the watchful La Valette, opened with great steadiness and effect on their dense masses. Indeed, throughout the day the artillery of that fort rendered the most efficient assistance by raking the flank and rear of the Turkish forces as they advanced to the attack. That of St. Elmo itself was no less vigorously served, and before the foot of the breach had been attained

many a turbaned head had been laid low. The janissaries, however, were not troops to be diverted even by this deadly fire. With yells of defiance, and shouting the war-cry of their faith, they dashed forward with reckless intrepidity, and though the iron hail ploughed deep furrows in their ranks, still pushed their way towards the breach. Here they were met by fresh obstacles and a new foe. Its summit was crowned by men who had despaired of saving their lives, and were prepared only to sell themselves dearly as possible. Against this impenetrable phalanx was in vain even for the redoubtable janissaries to attempt an entrance. Though they threw themselves again and again upon the enemy they were as often forced to recoil, and the mass of killed and wounded with which the breach lay strewn marked at once the vigour of the assault and the desperate gallantry of the defence.

Whilst this main attack was going forward on the land front, two separate attacks were being made to carry the work by escalade, one on the side of the Marsa Muscette, the other on that of the grand harbour. The first was pulsed without much difficulty; the other, however, was led by a forlorn hope of thirty men, who had bound themselves by an oath either to carry the fort or perish in the attempt. They made their rush at the parapet, planted their ladders in full view of St. Angelo, and, followed by a column of janissaries, had well-nigh effected a footing, when the guns of that work opened on them. La Valette, who had been watching the conflict from his post of observation, at once saw the desperate character of the assault, and directed his fire on the column. The result was that the storming party was thrown into confusion, their ladders destroyed, and the fanatic leaders having all

been slain, the remainder abandoned the attempt, and retired into their trenches.

Still the main attack continued to rage with unabated violence; fresh battalions were hurried in succession to the foot of the breach, and as constantly driven back. Time after time, shouts of encouragement and admiration were borne across the harbour from the anxious spectators who crowded the ramparts of St. Angelo, and as these cheering sounds reached the harassed combatants at St. Elmo, they were nerved to redouble their efforts. For six hours the storm was sustained, and yet the assailants had failed to penetrate at any single point. At length the intolerable heat, combined with the exhaustion of so lengthened a struggle, rendered further operations impossible, and Mustapha was reluctantly compelled to sound a retreat. On hearing this a loud shout of victory arose from the heroic band, and a responsive echo came floating over the waters from their brethren in the Bourg.

Great as had been their success, it had been dearly purchased—17 knights and 300 men having fallen. Chief among the former was the gallant Medrano, who was killed in the act of wrenching a standard from the grasp of a Turkish officer. His corpse was removed with all honour into the Bourg, where it was interred in a vault in St. Leonard's church, set apart for the dignitaries of the Order. The loss of the Turks has not been recorded, but it must have reached a very high figure. Raked as they had been throughout the day by the fire from St. Angelo, and exposed on all sides to that from St. Elmo itself, it is impossible that the struggle could have been maintained for so many hours without fearful havoc in their ranks. As soon as night had set in, boats were once more despatched from the Bourg with reinforcements and

to remove the wounded. A most generous rivalry had sprung up in the garrison of the Bourg, each striving to form one of the succouring detachment. Although it was clear to all that the post they craved was almost certain death, the brave volunteers crowded forward, and La Valette's only difficulty was whom to select when all appeared so eager. The choice was, however, made, and the fort once more placed in as favourable a position for defence as its desperate condition permitted.

In the Turkish camp anxious consultations were held as to the steps to be taken to bring this protracted siege to a conclusion. Dragut, who appears to have been the only commander of any real talent, pointed out that as long as the garrison of the Bourg was permitted to keep up communication with St. Elmo, and to pour in fresh bodies of troops after every assault, the knights would be able to prolong the defence indefinitely. Under his advice, therefore, the headland opposite point Dragut was occupied with a battery. He also extended the trenches in front of St. Elmo well across the promontory towards St. Angelo, and here he raised another small battery, which effectually swept the water and the landing at the rocks beneath the fort. The construction of these works was attended with great loss of life, the pioneers being fearfully exposed to the fire from St. Angelo. Amongst the casualties was Dragut himself, who was struck on the head with a fragment of rock, and mortally wounded. By dint of perseverance the lines were at length constructed, and on the 19th of the month the investment was completed, so that the garrison of St. Elmo was from that time cut off from all further reinforcement.

For three days more, viz., the 19th, 20th, and 21st June,

an incessant fire was kept up from the thirty-six guns which were now mounted on the Turkish batteries, and with the earliest dawn of the 22nd a fresh assault burst on St. Elmo. Exhausted though its defenders were with constant watching, short of ammunition, and exposed on their ruined ramparts to the deadly fire of the Turkish marksmen, they still met the foe with the same indomitable resolution as ever. Three times was the attempt renewed, and as often successfully repulsed; but on each occasion that gallant little band became still further reduced, and the prospect of continued resistance more and more hopeless. In breathless suspense La Valette, from his post of observation, watched the scene of strife, and great was his exultation when once again he heard the sound for retreat issuing from the midst of the Turkish host. Again had the Moslem recoiled from that blood-stained rock; still was the White Cross banner waving proudly from its summit, whilst the slender relics of its noble garrison once more raised a feeble shout of victory. It was, however, their last expiring effort. Begirt by foes on every side, cut off from all support, and reduced to little more than half their original number, they felt that their last triumph had been gained, and that the morrow's sun must see the standard of the infidel waving over the ruins of St. Elmo.

In this desperate emergency an expert swimmer contrived to carry a message to La Valette, of the truth of which he was, alas, too well assured. All that human effort could accomplish had been done to hold that vital point. Its defence had been protracted far beyond what even the most sanguine could have anticipated, and now there remained not the shade of a doubt that it wanted but the light of another day to insure its destruction.

La Valette felt, therefore, that the moment had arrived when, if it were not too late, the remnant of the garrison should be withdrawn from their post, and the ruins of St. Elmo abandoned to the enemy. Five large boats were despatched with a message to the governor, giving him permission to abandon the fort, and retire with his gallant little band into the Bourg. The permission came too late. La Valette had sternly refused all suggestions of surrender whilst the road for retreat was still open; he had deliberately chosen to sacrifice the brave defenders of St. Elmo for the sake of prolonging the siege, and now he was unable to recall the fiat. In vain did the relieving force attempt to approach undetected the rocky inlet where the mouth of the subterranean communication lay hidden, and from whence the ruined fort loomed indistinctly in the darkness of the night. The wary Turk too rarely suspected that a last effort would be made to save the victims whom he now held within his grasp, and his watchful sentries gave speedy intimation of the approach of the boats. The alarm was sounded, and the battery which Dragut had constructed to sweep the point opened with deadly precision. Thus discovered, it was of course manifestly useless to persevere in the attempt, and with heavy hearts they were compelled to return to the Bourg, leaving their comrades to their fate.

Anxiously had the attempt been watched by the garrison, and when the fire of the Turkish battery told them that it had been perceived and foiled, they felt that all was over. Silently and solemnly they assembled in the little chapel of the fort, and there once more confessed their sins and partook of the Holy Eucharist for the last time on earth. It was a sad and touching sight, that midnight gathering around the altar of St. Elmo's chapel.

Scarred with many a wound, exhausted with days of strife and nights of vigil, every hope of rescue abandoned, the little band of heroes stood once again, and for the last time, consecrating themselves, their lives, and their sword to the defence of their faith and of their Order. It was only within the last few years that this chapel has been discovered. It is a small casemate on the right of the entrance, with no light save that which is derived from an open archway at the back. There are recesses for two altars—one at the back and the other in the centre of the left side. Enough remains of one altar and of the ecclesiastical decorations to mark its original purpose. These had all been covered in, and an intermediate floor had hidden the roof. It is now restored, and forms an object of the deepest interest to those who know its touching history.

The religious ceremony concluded, they proceeded to take such measures as were still within their power to retain the post to the last moment, and then to sell their lives dearly. Such of their number as were too severely wounded to stand, caused themselves to be carried to the breach, where they were placed on chairs, so that they might meet their fate sword in hand, and with their faces to the foe.

With the first glimpse of dawn, the Turks, who had been anxiously awaiting its appearance to seize their prey, rushed fiercely at the breach with frantic shout. Baffled in so many previous attempts, their rage had increased with each new disaster, and now every passion of their hearts was aroused to avenge the fearful losses they had sustained. For four long hours the strife raged wild round that fatal spot, and although each moment lessened the number of the defenders, still the dauntless remnant

ood firm. At length, incredible as it may seem, the Turkish force, exhausted with its efforts, once more suspended the assault. No shout of triumph at this unexpected respite arose from the ranks of the garrison, nor did any encouraging voice find its way across the water from St. Angelo. Only sixty men, mostly wounded, remained to dispute the entrance of the foe, and to their imperishable renown be it told that it was from the almost exhausted efforts of those sixty men that the Turkish columns had recoiled.

The knights took advantage of the interval to bind up their wounds and prepare for a renewal of the conflict. The governor, who was still among the survivors, perceived that the handful remaining within the fort must be overwhelmed by the first rush of the enemy. He therefore recalled the few defenders of the cavalier to reinforce the slender remnant, trusting that his abandonment of that dominating point might remain unperceived, at all events for some time. But in this he underestimated the vigilance of Mustapha. That chief had been too often thwarted in his attempts on St. Elmo not to maintain a watchful eye upon all that was passing within its ruins. He detected the movement at once, and despatched a body of janissaries to occupy the abandoned work. This done, he gave the signal for a renewal of the assault. The defenders were taken by surprise, and before they had time to rally the fort was lost. All combined action was now over, and it only remained that the last scene should be enacted of that sad tragedy which has cast such a melancholy interest over the name of St. Elmo.

No quarter was asked or given. Desultory combats in various parts of the enclosure took place, until the last of the besieged had fallen. A few of the Maltese soldiery,

then, as now, expert swimmers and divers, succeeded in making good their escape to St. Angelo, amid a storm of missiles. Another body of nine men were saved from death by falling into the hands of Dragut's corsairs. These pirates, realizing the fact that a live Christian was a more valuable article of merchandise than a dead one, and actuated rather by a love of gain than by such fanaticism as stimulated the other Turks, preserved the nine men they had captured for the purpose of utilizing them as galley-slaves. The tattered White Cross banner was torn ignominiously from its staff, and on the 23rd June, the eve of the festival of St. John, the standard of the Moslems was reared in its place.

The natural ferocity of Mustapha's character had been aroused to the utmost by the desperate resistance he had encountered. Even the senseless and bleeding corpses of the enemy were not sacred from his revengeful malice. He directed that the bodies of the knights should be selected from amongst the other slain, and that their heads should be struck off and set up on poles looking towards St. Angelo. The trunks were then fastened on plants extended in the form of crosses, the same emblem being deeply gashed upon their breasts. Thus mutilated, they were cast into the harbour, and the action of the wind carrying them across to St. Angelo, its garrison was aroused to a frenzy of indignation by the sad spectacle. The poor disfigured remains were reverently raised from their watery bed, and as it was impossible, in their then condition, to identify them, they were all buried together in the conventual church of San Lorenzo. The revenge taken by La Valette was unworthy of his character as a Christian soldier; he caused all his prisoners to be decapitated, and their heads fired from the guns of St. Angelo.

The intelligence of the capture of St. Elmo was promptly conveyed to the wounded Dragut, who lay at the point of death in his tent. A gleam of satisfaction passed over the countenance of the dying man, and, as though he had lingered upon earth only to assure himself of the success he had so materially assisted to obtain, he no sooner heard the news than he breathed his last. His loss, which in itself was a great blow to the Turks, was by no means the principal price they had to pay for the purchase of St. Elmo. From first to last, no less than 8,000 of their number fell in the attack. The loss of the Christians amounted to 1,500, of whom 100 were knights and 30 servants-at-arms of the Order.

Thus fell that ruined bulwark, after a siege of upwards of a month, shedding even in its loss a bright ray of glory over its heroic defenders. Though Mustapha had achieved his object, yet much precious time had been sacrificed, and there can be no doubt that the protracted resistance of St. Elmo was the main cause of the ultimate failure of his enterprise. The losses the Turkish army had sustained, were though they were, counted but little in Mustapha's calculations compared with this great and unexpected waste of time. He was thus taught the resistance he must expect in every subsequent stage of the undertaking, and when his bold mind quailed beneath the difficulties with which his path was still beset. Well might he, standing upon the ruins of the fort he had gained at such an outlay, and gazing at the lofty ramparts of St. Angelo, whose tiers of batteries were still crowned with the White Cross banner, exclaim, in an agony of doubt and perplexity, "What will the parent cost us, when the child has been purchased at so fearful a price?"

CHAPTER XI.

SIEGE OF MALTA, 1565—*continued.*

Arrival of a reinforcement to the garrison—Investment of the Bourg—Transport of galleys across the Isthmus—Attack on Senglea—Breach established on the post of Castile—Repeated assaults on both points—Exhaustion of the garrison—Arrival of a succouring force from Sicily—Close of the siege—Causes of the successful defence.

THE festival of St. John the Baptist, on the 24th June, was celebrated by the inhabitants of the Bourg with very gloomy feelings. The sad tragedy enacted at the capture of St. Elmo had struck dread into the hearts of all, and the horrifying spectacle of the headless and mutilated corpses, which greeted their sight on the first dawn of their patron saint's day, increased the general despondency. On the other hand, the camp of the Turks was filled with sounds of rejoicing at the victory. The Marsa Muscette was now open to their fleet, and a long line of galleys, gaily decorated, rounded point Dragut in triumph to the strains of martial music, and came streaming in succession into the newly-acquired haven. The works of St. Elmo were dismantled, and its guns despatched to Constantinople as a proof of the success that had been achieved.

Mustapha now turned his attention towards the ne

d far more formidable undertaking which still awaited m. The lines which enclosed the two peninsulas had been strengthened as much as time and means would permit. The lengthened period spent by the Turks before . Elmo had not been passed in idleness by La Valette. Men and women, high and low, the noble and the peasant, the knight and the soldier, all had laboured with energy and good will at the work. A floating bridge was thrown across the inlet between the two peninsulas, and thus prompt communication was established between the Bourg and Senglea. The garrison of the Città Notabile was reduced to reinforce that of the towns, and all private stores were seized for the public use. Mustapha's first operation was to complete the investment, which he did by constructing trenches traced so as to stretch from the Coradin hill to that of Bighi. Before, however, this had been done, four galleys from Sicily had reached Malta and landed their forces on the north of the island. This body consisted of 42 knights, 20 gentlemen volunteers from Spain, 11 from Italy, 3 from Germany, 2 from England (named Edward Stanley and John Smith), 56 gunners, and 600 infantry. Taking advantage of a thick mist, an event most unusual at that time of the year, the little force succeeded in passing the Turks, and entered the Bourg on the 29th June. This reinforcement, slender as it was, greatly raised the spirits of the garrison, whilst the Turks were proportionately depressed. They soon learnt that French troops had entered the Bourg, and their fears greatly exaggerated the number. Rumours also reached them of the large preparations going forward in Sicily, so that they felt they might at any time be called on to meet a new enemy.

This dread led Mustapha to try the effect of a parley and for this purpose he sent an envoy into the town. The defiant reply returned by La Valette showed him that he had nothing to gain by negotiation, and that if the fortress was to be won it must be by force of arms alone. He therefore pushed forward his siege works, and early in July had completely invested both the Bourg and Senglea. The first point selected for attack was the spur bastion at the extremity of the fort of St. Michael touching the harbour, which was open to assault by water. As it was impossible to bring his galleys to the point by the ordinary channel through the entrance of the grand harbour owing to the fire from St. Angelo, he determined on the adoption of a novel expedient. From the upper extremity of the Marsa Muscette to the head of the other harbour across the isthmus of Mount Sceberras, the distance is not great; he therefore caused a number of galleys to be transported by land across this neck and re-launched under the Coradin hill. This laborious service was performed by Christian slaves, and in a few days La Valette beheld no less than eighty vessels floating in the upper portion of those waters, the entrance to which he had so sedulously guarded.

The Grand-Master took every precaution to avert the impending storm. The seaward ramparts of St. Michael were strengthened, additional guns were planted, and as a last step a strong stockade was constructed in the water running from the spur of St. Michael to the neck of the peninsula parallel to the line of ramparts, and consequently facing the Coradin hill. This stockade was formed of strong piles driven into the bed of the harbour and connected by chains passing through iron rings fixed into the head of each. Large spars were also lashed from

le to pile, and a barrier thus constructed which would materially impede a boat attack. A similar obstacle was erected in front of the posts of Germany and Castile. This work could of course only be carried on by night, but the Maltese divers completed it in an incredibly short time. Mustapha was dismayed at perceiving so formidable an impediment rising, and anxious, if possible, to prevent its completion, he selected a number of the most expert swimmers of his army, whom he provided with axes and despatched for its destruction. The Maltese divers met this attack with a similar sally; they dashed into the water with their words between their teeth, and gained such a complete mastery over their opponents that but few succeeded in turning to the opposite shore.

Everything being at length ready, and the batteries having effected practicable breaches, it was determined to deliver assaults simultaneously on the spur and on the land front of Senglea. Hassan, the viceroy of Algiers, son of Hayraddin Barbarossa and son-in-law of Dragut, who had just arrived with a strong reinforcement, was named for the command of the land attack, whilst his lieutenant, Candélissa, led that upon the spur by water. At a given signal, early on the morning of the 15th July, the action commenced by the advance of the Turkish artillery. Its progress was enlivened by the strains of martial music, and the sun on that summer's morn flashed upon many a glittering weapon, and lighted up many a gay and fluttering pennon. In advance of the squadron came a boat containing two Turkish mollahs, who recited from the Koran such texts as were most likely to arouse the enthusiasm of their followers. When they neared the scene of strife these holy men cared no longer to occupy their conspicuous position, but, resigning their

place to others, wisely returned to camp. Candêlissa's first attempt was on the stockade, through which he endeavoured to force a passage. The barrier was, however, too strong, and the intervals too small for him to be able to push his boats through; he was also too much galled by the fire from the ramparts to permit of his remaining long in front of it. Plunging therefore into the water, which reached to his neck, he made his way through the stockade, and calling on his men to follow, waded to the shore, where he drew his sword and dashed at the breach.

At this moment, unfortunately, a store of combustible which had been accumulated on the rampart for the use of the defenders, suddenly became ignited and exploded, killing and wounding many of the bystanders. All was for a time in confusion, and when the smoke cleared away the Turks were found established on the summit of the breach. Rallying his forces, the commander Zanoguerra, who held the post, dashed into the middle of the enemy and a hand-to-hand conflict ensued. Long and desperate was the struggle, but at last the weight of numbers prevailed as more and more of the assailants penetrated through the breach, and the defenders began to give way.

Mustapha, who was watching the course of events from the Coradin hill, determined to complete the success, and overcome all further obstacles. He therefore despatched a body of 1,000 janissaries in ten large boats to support the assaulting column. To avoid the difficulty of the stockade they steered well round to the northward, and thus exposed themselves to the fire of St. Angelo, from which the original attack had been screened by the point of Senglea. It has already been mentioned that La Valette

ad constructed a small battery for three guns *à fleur d'eau* upon the rocks at the foot of St. Angelo for the express purpose of flanking the spur of St. Michael. The knight in command of this post, when he saw the advance of the hostile force, loaded his guns to the muzzle with grape, musket shot, and other missiles, and waited quietly until the boats had approached within easy range. Then the battery belched forth its fire at a distance of little more than 200 yards, lashing the surface of the water into a foam with its iron hail. The result was awful; the boats were all crowded together, and the discharge had taken effect in their midst. Nine out of the ten sank instantly, and such of their occupants as were not killed were seen struggling in the water. The loss of the Turks by this blow has been variously computed at from 400 to 800 men, and for days after the bodies of the killed floated on the water, where they were seized by the expert Maltese swimmers, who reaped a rich harvest from the plunder found on them.

Meanwhile La Valette had despatched a powerful reinforcement from the Bourg by means of the floating bridge, and this succour reached the scene of action at the moment when the Turks were paralysed by the incident they had just witnessed. Its appearance at this critical juncture decided the fortunes of the day; with fierce shouts the knights dashed at the enemy, and drove them headlong over the breach. Even Candêlissa, whose reputation for courage had till then been above suspicion, was seized with panic, and was one of the earliest to turn his back on the scene of strife. He hurried ignominiously into the first boat, and was followed by such of his troops as were able to scramble through or over the stockade. The remainder fell almost unresisting victims to the fury of the

besieged. Their cry for quarter was met with the stern reply, "Such mercy as you showed to our brethren shall be meted out to you." From that day these acts of vengeance were called *St. Elmo's pay*. In this struggle the young son of the viceroy of Sicily was killed. His untimely fate, whilst fighting for a cause in which he had no personal interest, created a universal feeling of deep regret, even the stern and impassive La Valette himself exhibiting the most poignant sorrow at his loss.

Whilst Candêlissa had been thus engaged, Hassan had on his side made several desperate but futile attempts to penetrate into the defences on the land front of Senglea. Wherever the assaulting columns showed themselves they were met by an impenetrable array, which no efforts could dislodge. Hassan soon found that he was now fighting an enemy very different in stubbornness and determination from any with which he had hitherto been brought in contact; and at length, exhausted with his fruitless efforts, he was compelled sullenly to withdraw his troops and acknowledge the bitterness of defeat. Thus ended the memorable day. Nearly 3,000 of the flower of the Ottoman army perished, most of whom were either janissaries or corsairs, whilst the loss of the defenders did not exceed 250. Amongst these, however, besides the son of the viceroy, was the commander Zanoguerra, who fell at the moment of victory.

Mustapha now saw that still greater exertions were necessary to atone for his failure, and he conceived that it would be advisable to take advantage of his vastly superior forces by carrying on an attack against Senglea and the Bourg simultaneously. He retained the direction of the former in his own hands, whilst he confided the latter to the admiral Piali. Candêlissa, whose conduct in the late

assault had not raised him in public estimation, was placed in charge of the fleet, with directions to cruise off the mouth of the harbour and intercept any attempt at reinforcement. This division of command created great rivalry and emulation, as each felt that if he were the fortunate man to gain a first footing within the enemy's defences, the whole glory and reward of the expedition would fall to him. Piali therefore determined to push forward his attack on the Bourg with the utmost vigour. A battery had already been constructed on Mount Salvator, which played on the post of Castile and on part of that of Auvergne. To this Piali added another still larger on the bluff of Bighi, containing both guns and mortars. He thus enclosed the post of Castile between two fires, and soon reduced its ramparts to ruins. At the same time he advanced his trenches, so that he was quite close to the bastion by the time matters were ripe for a storm.

Mustapha meanwhile had abandoned all further attempts on the spur, owing to the stockade, and directed his efforts solely against the land front. On the 2nd August, being anxious, if possible, to forestall the operations of Piali, he delivered an assault at the point where Massan had failed. For six hours the struggle was obstinately maintained; five times were the Turks driven from the breach, and as often rallied by their indomitable general. At length he was compelled to abandon the attempt, and the wearied garrison were once more permitted to enjoy a brief repose.

Piali was on his side ready to assume the offensive a few days later, and on the 7th August an attack was made on both points simultaneously. That on the post of Castile failed signally; but Mustapha was on his side

more successful, and after a desperate struggle drove the defenders from the contested rampart. At this crisis, when all seemed lost, and a few moments more must have decided the fate of Senglea, he, to the amazement of the combatants, sounded the retreat. This step on his part appeared at the time inexplicable, but its cause was really very simple. The commandant of the Città Notabile having heard the firing, and rightly conjecturing that the Turks were delivering a fresh assault, determined to create a diversion. The little party he sent out found the Turkish camp unguarded, and fell at once upon the sick and wounded who were lying there. Shrieks and yells resounded on all sides, and a panic spread through the army. It was supposed that the relieving force from Sicily had landed, and that its advanced guard was already on them. The intelligence reached Mustapha in the thick of the contest at Senglea, and at the very instant of victory he saw the prize torn from his grasp. An immediate retreat was sounded, and he assembled his disheartened troops to meet the new enemy, supposed at that moment to be in their rear. To his astonishment and rage, when he reached the scene of action he discovered the true state of the case. The little party having attained their object, and created a diversion, wisely retired in time, and Mustapha found, to his unspeakable indignation, that he had abandoned a victory already in his grasp on a false alarm.

From this time he resolved to carry out his purpose rather by the harassing frequency of his attacks than by their intensity. Almost every day, therefore, witnessed a repetition of the struggle in one or both directions, which, after more or less persistence, was invariably driven back. After each of these victories, however, La

La Valette beheld his numbers steadily diminishing. His thoughts turned more and more anxiously towards the relief expected from Sicily, where his ambassador was busily engaged pleading his cause. It is very difficult to account for the dilatory conduct of the viceroy at this juncture. It is well known that he was warmly attached to La Valette and the Order. He had even entrusted his son to the knights through the perils of the siege; it cannot, therefore, be supposed that he was indifferent to the fate of the island. It must be presumed that in his delay he was acting under the secret orders of Philip. At length, after repeated remonstrances from La Valette's envoy, and a long and stormy meeting of council, specially convoked for the purpose, an assurance was forwarded to the Grand-Master that if he could hold the fortress till the end of August he should most positively be relieved by that time.

Meanwhile the daily assaults continued without intermission. On the 18th August both points were, as usual, attacked; but the attempt on the post of Castile was deferred for some time after that on Senglea had been commenced, partly with the hope of inducing some of its defenders to withdraw to the assistance of their friends, and partly to enable Piali to spring a mine which had with incredible labour been driven through the rock beneath the bastion. Finding that the delay did not tempt any of the knights to leave their station, Piali fired his mine, and a large extent of rampart was thrown down by the explosion. In the panic that ensued the assailants made their onset and established themselves on the bastion. The alarm spread instantly, and the great bell of the conventual church pealed forth to notify the peril. All was fear and confusion, and but for the pre-

sence of mind displayed by the Grand-Master at that critical moment, the place must have been lost. Hastily seizing a pike, he rushed to the scene of action, calling on his brethren to die manfully where they stood. A desperate encounter ensued, in which La Valette was wounded; but he succeeded in his object; the breach was retaken and cleared of the enemy.

The 19th, 20th, and 21st each beheld an assault on some point, and although on every occasion it failed the steadily diminishing numbers of the garrison proved clearly that they would be unable to sustain many more such efforts. Whilst the besieged were being reduced to this pitiable condition, that of Mustapha and his force was becoming but little better. The incessant attack he had persisted in making had, it is true, harassed the besieged beyond all endurance; but their constant failure at the same time produced the worst possible effect upon his own troops. He had lost the flower of his army partly on those deadly breaches and partly by pestilence. The power of the sun in Malta during the months of July and August is very great, and at all times likely to produce disease, unless the most stringent sanitary precautions are insisted on. The Turkish camp had remained stationary for two months, and, as is well known, the habits of Easterns are not sufficiently clean to stave off sickness under such conditions. It is not therefore, to be wondered at that by this time a large proportion of the force was laid low.

Long and anxious were the consultations between Mustapha and Piali. The former, who felt that his reputation, nay, most probably even his life, depended on the successful issue of the enterprise, strongly urged that the army should, if necessary, winter on the island

At Piali declared that he could not allow his fleet to run such a risk; he announced, therefore, that as soon as the summer began to break up, he should quit Malta and return to Constantinople, with or without the army. Mustapha felt greatly dismayed at this opposition on the part of his coadjutor, but he retained the secret of his correspondence within his own breast. Instructions were issued for a fresh general assault on the 23rd August. Some friendly hand among the besiegers shot into the town an arrow with a paper attached, on which was written the single word *Thursday*. The hint was sufficient, and a council of war was summoned to deliberate upon measures of defence against an attack which seemed likely to prove more than usually vehement. It was strongly urged that both Senglea and the Bourg should be abandoned, and all efforts concentrated in maintaining the enceinte of St. Angelo. The Grand-Master would not listen to this proposal, and to show that he was determined to yield to no such idea, he withdrew the bulk of the garrison of the castle to reinforce those of the two towns. Early on the morning of the 23rd the assault took place as anticipated. Every member of the order whose wounds did not positively incapacitate him left the infirmary and resumed his post on the shattered ramparts. Yet even with this aid, the number of the defenders had dwindled to a comparative handful. Nothing but their indomitable spirit and the demoralization of the Turks could have enabled them to maintain successful resistance before the overwhelming odds brought against them. Once again, however, they were victorious, and the baffled Mustapha was compelled to withdraw his troops, now utterly cowed, from the scene of their latest failure.

For a week after this defeat the Turks attempted nothing further, but contented themselves with keeping up a sullen cannonade. At length, on the 1st September, Mustapha once more essayed his fortune. It was, however, in vain; a spirit of despondency had spread itself through the ranks of the Moslem, and they loudly demanded to be carried away from the dreaded spot where so many of their comrades had found a blood grave, or were dying of pestilence like rotten sheep. I was not by men imbued with such feelings as these that the victory was to be snatched from the determined and now desperate garrison. Mustapha's quailing and reluctant battalions recoiled almost without a blow from the front maintained against their advance. The feebleness of this last effort spread the greatest exultation amongst the besieged; they began to hope that they should be able alone and unaided to drive the enemy from their shores, and they almost ceased to wish for that relieving force whose coming had till then been so anxiously looked for.

This long-delayed aid was, however, at length on its way to the rescue. After an attempt which was rendered futile by a violent storm, the viceroy set sail from Syracuse for the second time on the 6th September, and anchored that same night to the north of the island. The next morning he landed the force, consisting of 8,500 men, of whom 300 were members of the Order, in Melleha bay, and, having witnessed the commencement of its march towards the Città Notabile, he returned to Syracuse for the remainder of the army, consisting of 4,000 additional men. The news of this advance reached Mustapha whilst still plunged in despondency owing to his latest failure. Rumour had, as usual, greatly magnified

the numbers of the reinforcements, and he began to fear that he should be surprised in his intrenchments and his troops cut to pieces. He consequently gave the order for immediate embarkation. The artillery and stores were moved from the batteries, and throughout the night of the 7th September his soldiers laboured far more zealously in carrying off their guns than they had done in originally building them. The sounds of departure were not lost on the inhabitants, and with glad hearts they listened to the constant rumbling of wheels which marked the movement. With the dawn of the next day the actual embarkation began. St. Elmo was abandoned; all the lines and batteries, which it had taken so much time and so fearful an expenditure of blood to construct, were relinquished. La Valette's measures, on this joyful morning, were as prompt and decisive as those of Mustapha had been injudicious. The whole town poured into the trenches, and in a few hours the labour of months was destroyed. The banner of the Order was once more triumphantly raised on the ruins of St. Elmo, and Piali was driven to hurry his departure from the Marsa Mustapha, now no longer a safe shelter. The embarkation was finally concluded when Mustapha received more accurate intelligence as to the numbers of the relieving force. His proud spirit recoiled at the thought that he should thus hastily have abandoned his position upon the approach of a body of troops so far inferior in number to his own. A council of war was promptly summoned, when it was decided by a slender majority to disembark the troops and advance to encounter the new enemy. A body of 9,000 men was therefore landed in St. Paul's bay, to the north of the island, and pushed forward to meet the relieving force now lying between it and the town.

The viceroy had placed his army under the command of an Italian officer named Ascanio Corneo, and to him La Valette sent timely notice that a body of Turks had once more landed and would probably advance against him. Corneo forthwith took up a strong position in front of the *casal* of Nasciar, where he purposed to await the approach of the Turks. He had, however, those with him who could ill brook such a defensive policy. A body of 200 knights, each with several followers, had been formed into a separate battalion. These men were burning to cross swords with their hated enemy, and to avenge the loss of so many of their comrades who had fallen in the defence. No entreaties, no commands, could restrain their impetuosity. Corneo, perceiving that he could not hold them back, decided that he had better adopt an aggressive policy. No sooner had the Ottoman army reached the foot of the hill on which he was posted, than he ordered general advance. Down rushed the battalion of knights, their brandished weapons gleaming in the sun as though eager to be bathed in the blood of the enemy. The Turks at once turned and fled. In vain did Mustapha strain every nerve to rally his flying soldiers; the universal terror was too strong for him to withstand, and he was carried away by the stream. On came the pursuers, heedless of aught but revenge; every precaution was neglected, all discipline lost; even their very armour was cast aside that they might act with the more vigour. In tumultuous disarray they reached the shore, and strove to prevent the embarkation of the Turks. Here, however, they were checked by Hassan, who with 1,500 men was covering the landing-place. They would inevitably have been cut to pieces had not Corneo quickly made his appearance with the main body of his troops. Then a

as speedily over; the Turks were driven on board their galleys, and the island at length cleared of all its foes.

The siege was now at an end; the shattered remnants of that powerful army which a few short months before had ended with all the pomp and circumstance of war were ending their way homeward to Constantinople, there to meet the angry frowns of a sovereign who, till that hour, had scarcely known defeat. It now only remained that the victors should advance upon the town and greet their friends in the Bourg. A joyful meeting it was between those enfeebled war-worn soldiers and the gallant comrades who had come to their rescue. Their tanned and haggard faces, attenuated by vigils and hardships, were lighted up with the proud consciousness of the glorious victory they had gained. Their ruined and blood-stained ramparts could tell a tale of heroism and endurance that would long linger in men's minds. As friend met friend and was clasped in fraternal arms, each felt that another triumph had to be emblazoned on the banner of their Order, before which all previous victories seemed poor and trivial. Well might La Valette be excused the natural exultation of the moment when he directed that from that day the Bourg should receive the well-earned title of *Città Vittoriosa*.

The troops which accompanied Mustapha to Malta had originally consisted of upwards of 30,000 men, mostly picked from the flower of the Ottoman army. The successive reinforcements brought by the corsairs Dragut and Hassan had increased that number to nearly 40,000. Of this force only 15,000 survived to return to Constantinople. On the other hand, the original garrison of the fortress had barely reached 9,000 men. The reinforcement received shortly after the fall of St. Elmo added only

700 to their strength. Of this small body but 60 remained unwounded. The process of exhaustion had been carried on by Mustapha almost to the point at which he aimed. His own forces, however, suffered so much from both sword and pestilence, that when the critical moment arrived he was unable to reap advantage from the weakness of the enemy.

The defence of Malta has justly been considered one of the most brilliant feats of arms recorded in the annals of the sixteenth century, and the historian naturally seeks to trace the causes of so glorious a victory. Much may be attributed to the jealousy which existed between the military and naval commanders of the Turkish armament. The engineering tactics of the Turks were throughout faulty in the extreme. Dragut was also undoubtedly in the right when he asserted that Mustapha should have made himself master, in the first place, of the *Città Notabile*, so as to secure his rear from disturbance, whilst the garrison would have been cut off from the assistance derived from the place during the early part of the siege. Still, when full weight has been given to the errors of the Ottoman tactics, much remains to be assigned to the heroic and indomitable spirit of the garrison and its chief. It was indeed fortunate for Malta that at a moment when its inhabitants were called upon to maintain so desperate a defence, they were governed by a man who was eminently qualified to guide them victoriously through the crisis. There was a stern impassiveness in La Valette's temperament, a steady and firm resolution which marked how utterly he excluded all personal feeling from the guidance of his actions. His cold and uncompromising sacrifice of the defenders of St. Elmo, in order to insure the prolongation of the siege, marks the character of the man.

hilst the obedience to death which he extorted from that allant band, even after they had broken into open mutiny, roves the extraordinary ascendancy he had gained over em. The crisis required a man who could subordinate l considerations of feeling to that of duty, and in La alette was to be found one capable of the sacrifice. He ad also the faculty of arousing in others that deep eligious enthusiasm which pervaded his own life, and the eanest soldier imbibed from his chief a lofty determination to conquer or to die, which was the great secret of his stubborn and successful resistance.

The Order was, moreover, most ably seconded and upported by the bravery and resolution of the Maltese habitants. It must be borne in mind that the bulk f the soldiery was composed of the native element. Had his failed, no individual heroism on the part of the knights ould in the long run have secured success. The Maltese, whenever they have been tested, have shown themselves eady and resolute soldiers, and on this memorable occasion ere not found wanting. No single instance is recorded oughout the siege in which they failed to do their duty, and on many occasions—notably when the Turks attempted o destroy the stockade of Senglea—proved themselves apable of the most devoted heroism. It is necessary to well somewhat strongly on this fact, because most of the arratives of the siege having been compiled by writers in e interest of the Order, everything has been sacrificed to ld to its glory. The history of the struggle must in justice be indissolubly interwoven with that of the Maltese habitants, and they have cause to this hour to remember ith feelings of pride and satisfaction the noble deeds of heir ancestors in 1565.

The 8th of September, the day on which the siege was

1175
raised, was always subsequently celebrated with great rejoicings by the knights. It was already a high festival of the church, being the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin; but from the year 1565 it became to them the most important anniversary in the calendar. On that day a solemn mass was celebrated for the souls of those who had fallen. The names of such amongst them as had attained to any dignity in the fraternity were registered in the records of the conventual church. The following is the number of knights of the various *langues* who fell:—Provence, 29; Auvergne, 13; France, 30; Italy, 79; Aragon, 31; Germany, 9; Castile, 26. The total was therefore 217 out of 516 who are known to have been present. Only three Englishmen took part in the siege, viz., Edward Stanley, John Smith, and the knight Olive Starkey; and neither of these was killed.

The heroic spirits who conducted the defence have long since returned to dust, and the names, even, of but too many have been lost to the world; but the memory of their great deeds remains as fresh and green as though it were a thing of yesterday, and the island of Malta is never mentioned, even in the present age, without recalling to the mind the picture of the scenes enacted there during the summer of 1565. English hearts and English swords now protect those ramparts whereon the ensigns of the Order of St. John fluttered; and should occasion ever demand the sacrifice, the world would find that the blood of Britain could be poured forth like water in the defence of that rock which the common consent of Europe has intrusted to her hands.

CHAPTER XII.

1565—1680.

General exultation at the successful defence of Malta—Rumours of a new Turkish expedition—Death of Solyman—Commencement of the city of Valetta—Death of La Valette, and accession of de Monte—Transfer of the convent to Valetta—Battle of Lepanto—Election of La Cassière—Sedition against him—Building of St. John's cathedral—Election of Verdala—Arrival of the Jesuits—Alof de Vignacourt—The Malta aqueduct—Election of Lascaris—Battle of the Dardanelles—Commencement of the Floriana enceinte—the Brothers Cottoner—Sir John Narbrough's visit to Malta—Construction of the Cottonera lines and Fort Ricasoli—Death of Cottoner—Decadence of the Turkish empire and of the Order.

EUROPE had looked on with breathless interest whilst the siege of Malta was going forward, and prayers were offered in many a Christian congregation for the success of the Cross against the Crescent. When it became known that that success was assured, the universal exultation was unbounded. The king of Spain sent a special ambassador to Malta with congratulations, who bore with him as a present from Philip a magnificent sword and poniard, the hilts of which were of chased gold studded with gems. At Rome a general illumination of the city testified to the joy of the inhabitants. The Pope offered to La Valette a cardinal's hat, a dignity which had in

previous years been accepted by D'Aubusson. La Valette however, considering that his position was already above that of a cardinal, declined the offer with due expressions of gratitude.

Meanwhile, the rage of Solyman, upon learning the disgrace which had befallen his arms, was extreme. Tearing the despatch into fragments, he pledged himself to lead another expedition against the island in person. Preparations were instantly begun in the arsenals of Constantinople, and every nerve was strained to collect such a force as should effectually wipe away the stain cast upon the military renown of the empire. In this crisis, La Valette, feeling that he was no longer able to oppose force by force, decided upon having recourse to stratagem to avert the danger. He availed himself of the services of some of his spies in Constantinople to set fire to the grand arsenal of that city. Large stores of gun powder had been accumulated for the purposes of the approaching expedition, the explosion of which utterly wrecked the dockyard and the fleet which was being there equipped. This blow put a complete stop to the enterprise, and the death of Solyman, which occurred on September 5th, 1566, prevented any renewal of the attempt.

All immediate danger being thus at an end, the Grand Master turned his attention to the restoration of his ruined defences. The siege had clearly demonstrated the importance of fort St. Elmo; La Valette determined therefore, not only to restore and develop it, but also to carry out the project, so often before mooted, of occupying the entire peninsula with a new town and fortress. Experience had shown that the Bourg, or, as it was now called, the Città Vittoriosa, was but ill suited for the head

quarters of the convent, and no other spot afforded so many advantages for the purpose as Mount Sceberras. The expense, however, would be enormous, and foreign assistance was absolutely necessary. The Order at the moment stood very high in the estimation of Europe, and such liberal contributions were on all sides promised for the new scheme, that La Valette was enabled at once to undertake it. He therefore summoned the most able engineers in Italy to discuss the design.

Matters being thus prepared, the 28th of March, 1566, was selected as the day on which the first stone of the new city was to be laid. The name given to it was Valetta, and the ceremony of inauguration was performed with the utmost pomp. At an early hour La Valette left Vittoriosa in solemn procession, accompanied by all the grand-crosses and other functionaries of the Order. They were preceded by the clergy, at whose head was Dominick Dubelles, bishop of the island. Arrived at Mount Sceberras, the Grand-Master took up his station beneath a pavilion erected for the purpose on the appointed site, and there performed the ceremony of laying the first stone at the corner of St. John's bastion. Loud rang the trumpets to announce the auspicious fact to the thousands congregated round the spot, but louder far than the shrillest note of the clarion burst forth the shout with which that enthusiastic multitude hailed the event. It was indeed the commencement of a new æra, during which the island was steadily to rise in importance, until it attained a foremost rank amongst the strongholds of Europe.

The foundation of the city was not effected without considerable opposition, and La Valette was frequently called on to defend the prudence of the undertaking.

The Grand-Master, was, however, firm in his determination to prosecute the work, and it was pushed bravely on; ditches were quarried in the soft rock, and with the stone thus raised the ramparts were constructed. For the first year nothing was attempted but the fortifications no one being willing to build within the enceinte until its defence had become somewhat assured. The papal engineer, Francesco Laparelli, had the general control assisted in all details by Jerome Cassan, the resident engineer of the Order. La Valette watched the progress of the work with the keenest anxiety, taking up his abode in a wooden hut on the spot, and spending his days in the midst of the workmen. All the leading towns of Sicily, and even of Italy, were ransacked for artificers—at one time no less than 8,000 labourers being employed to assist the masons. The original design had contemplated that the ridge of rock which formed the summit of Mount Sceberras should be levelled down, and that the city should be built on the platform thus made. Before the work had proceeded far, rumours reached the island of another expedition preparing at Constantinople by the new emperor Selim, the destination of which was supposed to be Malta. The effect of this rumour was to destroy the symmetry of Valetta, the erection of which was in consequence hurried on and built on the slopes as they existed; a small central strip only, on which runs the Strada Reale, having been levelled.

La Valette had not progressed far with his new city before the want of money began to be seriously felt. He had received promises of large amounts, but these were only paid in instalments spread over a lengthened period. Under the pressure of this difficulty he decided on a measure, the successful working of which proved the high

credit of the Order. A quantity of copper money was coined, carrying a fictitious value; on one side was the symbol of two hands clasped, and on the other the words '*Non æs sed fides.*' These coins were freely accepted by the workmen at their nominal value, and passed current throughout the island until they were redeemed, which was punctually done as soon as remittances were received from Europe. When Malta fell into the possession of England, there was a large quantity of similar false money circulating, which was reclaimed by the British Government at considerable loss, the nominal value being nearly £17,000, whilst that of the copper was only £400. It was at the time generally stated that this coinage was a portion of that issued by La Valette. A little consideration, however, should have shown that it would be impossible for copper coins to remain in circulation for 260 years. The fact was that the experiment so successfully tried by La Valette was repeated by several of the later Grand-Masters. There exists in the public library of Valetta a collection of dies from the local mint; and several of these, of different dates, show the symbol and legend described above, and were evidently used for a similar purpose.

When the ramparts had been raised, and the streets of the town laid out, private individuals were invited to erect houses. As an incentive to the knights to join in this work, it was decreed that any one building a house in the new city should have the power of disposing of it by will at his death—a concession not otherwise enjoyed. This privilege induced many of them to erect mansions, and these show traces of having been designed for men who, not being burdened with families, did not require much sleeping accommodation. We find in these houses a

general stateliness of architecture ; the apartments devoted to reception are spacious, lofty, and handsomely decorated, whilst the sleeping rooms are narrow, confined, and few in number.

Before the new town was fit for occupation, La Valette was struck down by a sunstroke whilst engaged in a hunting expedition. A violent fever followed, and after an illness of nearly a month, he died on the 21st August, 1568. His body was, in the first instance, placed in the chapel attached to the castle of St. Angelo; but four days later, his successor having meantime been elected, a grand funeral *cortège* was formed for its transport to a small chapel which he had built and endowed in the new city, dedicated to Our Lady of Victory. The corpse was placed on the deck of the great carrack, which was towed by two other galleys, the whole being draped in black. It was taken into the Marsa Muscette, and there landed and borne in solemn procession to the place of burial.

The memory of La Valette has always been held in the highest veneration by his fraternity. In his public character he earned a reputation and position such as have fallen to the lot of but few. Stern and inflexible, he was rigidly just and honourable. Throughout his long career he proved himself invariably the terror of evildoers and an implacable enemy to disorder of every kind. By his brethren he was respected perhaps more than he was loved. The crisis during which he was placed at the head of affairs demanded a man of iron will; so long, therefore, as the necessity for such qualifications existed he was pre-eminently the right man in the right place, and, as such, received the willing obedience and admiration of the fraternity. During the last two years of his life that austerity was no longer recognized as a virtue, so that at

At the time of his death there were not a few who, having felt his rule irksome, hailed the event as a relief, and although outwardly mourning the loss of one who had been so brilliant an ornament, were at heart not ill pleased to look forward to a new government which might prove less stern to their shortcomings.

He was succeeded by Peter de Monte, the grand-admiral and bailiff of the *langue* of Italy, who had held the command of Senglea during the late siege. De Monte was strongly impressed with the value of the work going forward on Mount Scieerras. He had no sooner, therefore, assumed the reins of government than he announced his intention of pushing forward the labours of his predecessor to a speedy conclusion. So eager was he that, although even the fortifications were in a very unfinished state, and the city but slowly rising, he transferred the convent hither on the 17th March, 1571. At first the Grand-Master's residence was only a wooden structure with the most limited accommodation; but his nephew having about this period erected a large pile of buildings in front of the Piazza San Georgio, it was purchased from him and appropriated as a Grand-Master's palace.

When the line of fortifications had been sufficiently advanced, the usual division of posts was made. The land front consisted of four bastions. That of St. Peter, on the left, was the post of Italy; St. James's bastion and cavalier that of France; St. John's bastion and cavalier, Provence; and St. Michael's bastion, on the right, Auvergne. St. Andrew's bastion, overlooking the Marsa Muscette, was the post of Aragon; and the line of ramparts from thence to St. Elmo, Germany; whilst the corresponding line on the other side was Castile. St. Elmo itself was garrisoned by detachments from all the *langues*, as was St. Angelo. Their

old posts in the Bourg and Senglea were retained in addition to the new lines. Each *langue* also erected for itself an *auberge* as it had done at Rhodes, and these are still the most imposing buildings in the city.

The year 1571 was marked by the glorious victory which the combined Christian fleet gained over the Turks at the battle of Lepanto. In this action only three Maltese galleys were present, under Pietro Giustiniani, the whole expedition being under the command of Don John of Austria. The three Maltese galleys were on the extreme right of the centre division. Aluch Ali, the viceroy of Algiers, who had been manœuvring against the right wing, had succeeded in penetrating between it and the centre, and had thus gained the rear of the Christian line at a point in the immediate vicinity of Giustiniani's galleys. Perceiving that they flew the White Cross banner, he at once dashed at them. The undying hatred to the Order common to the corsairs of Algiers was burning in his bosom, and he thought that he now saw his enemies delivered into his hands. The three Maltese galleys were no match for the division he was leading, and for the moment they were cut off from support. The struggle was fierce, for the knights fought with their usual impetuosity. Maxwell, in his life of Don John, gives a most graphic account of this incident. He says, "The knights and their men defended themselves with a valour worthy of their heroic Order. A youth named Bernardino de Heredia, son of the Count of Fuentes, signally distinguished himself; and a Zaragoza knight, Geronimo Ramirez, although riddled with arrows like another St. Sebastian, fought with such desperation that none of the Algerine boarders cared to approach him until they saw that he was dead. A knight of Burgundy leaped

“alone into one of the enemy’s galleys, killed four Turks, and defended himself until overpowered by numbers. On board the prior’s vessel, when he was taken, he himself, pierced with five arrow wounds, was the sole survivor except two knights—a Spaniard and a Sicilian—who, being senseless from their wounds, were considered as dead.”

Aluch Ali succeeded for the moment in capturing the prior’s galley, and having secured its banner, he took the vessel in tow, hoping to make his way out of the battle, which by this time he saw was lost. Fortunately his manœuvre was perceived by the squadron of reserve, which had not yet been engaged, and its commander at once bore down on him to intercept the movement. Aluch Ali, to avoid being himself captured, cut the galley adrift. The rescuers found on her deck, the bodies of no less than 300 Turks who had been killed whilst boarding. The results of the victory were such as completely to annihilate the naval power of the Turks for many years.

De Monte died in 1572, and the vacancy was filled by the election of John L’Evêque de la Cassière, conventual bailiff of Auvergne, and grand-marshal of the Order. The rule of this Grand-Master was an æra of turbulence and confusion from beginning to end. An altercation which he had with the bishop of Malta, touching the extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the latter, led to the introduction into the island of the Inquisition, whose chief, under the title of grand-inquisitor, became ever after a source of discord and uneasiness. Instead of two there were now three heads in the island, and although both the bishop and inquisitor acknowledged the supremacy of the Grand-Master, yet by their acts they almost invariably proved that that recognition was more

nominal than real. Disputes also arose with the republic of Venice and with the king of Spain, the latter interfering most unwarrantably with the patronage of the *langue* of Castile. In addition to these external quarrels, a spirit of turbulence also developed itself within the convent, which the arrogant temper of the Grand-Master was not calculated to allay.

Matters at length reached such a crisis that an open mutiny sprang up against La Cassière. A public meeting was held in which it was declared that the Grand-Master was, from age and infirmity, unable to continue in the active exercise of his functions, and he was called on to nominate a lieutenant. La Cassière, who although old was still in full vigour both of mind and body, rejected the suggestion with disdain; on which the mutineers once more assembled, and decreed that he should be deposed and placed in confinement in fort St. Angelo. This resolution was at once carried into effect, and the aged Grand-Master, surrounded by his rebellious *confrères*, was conveyed through the streets like a criminal to his appointed place of imprisonment. The greatest indignation was excited in the papal court at these lawless proceedings, and an envoy was despatched to Malta to investigate the matter. By his advice La Cassière was summoned to Rome, as were also the leaders of the malcontents. The Pope, after inquiry, decreed the restoration of the Grand-Master, who, however, did not survive to resume the active duties of his station. He died in Rome on the 21st December, 1581.

It was during his rule that the church of St. John the Baptist was erected in the new city, and became the conventual cathedral. The expense of its construction was entirely defrayed by La Cassière out of his magisterial

venues, and he further endowed it with an annuity of 5,000 crowns. By a decree of the first chapter-general held after the erection of the church, a separate chapel was assigned within its precincts to each *langue*. These chapels form the side aisles, and are filled with stately monuments erected in honour of members of the various *lingues*. The entire pavement is one of the most beautiful specimens of mosaic work in Europe. It is composed of a succession of records to the memory of the most celebrated among the bailiffs, grand-crosses, and commanders. It glistens with an endless variety of coloured marbles, representing the blazonry of the arms of the illustrious deceased; jasper, agate, and other similar costly stones being plentifully introduced. The treasury of the church was enriched with numerous valuable gifts, the quinquennial offerings of the Grand-Master and other dignitaries. In addition to the magnificent reliquary enclosing the hand of St. John, there were silver statues of the twelve apostles, an exquisite golden chalice presented to L'Isle Adam by Henry VIII., the sword and poniard presented to La Valette by Philip II., numerous crosses and censers in gold and silver, together with several large candelabra of the latter metal. The chapel of the Virgin was lighted with a lamp suspended by a massive chain, the whole of solid gold, and several of the altars were richly decorated and adorned with costly vessels. Below the church La Cassière caused a crypt to be constructed, to which he transferred the remains of L'Isle Adam and La Valette, and it is there that these two heroes now rest beneath handsome monuments erected by him. At the foot of the tomb of La Valette lie the remains of Oliver Starkey, his faithful Latin secretary, and the last Englishman who held the office

of Turcopolier. The Latin inscription on the tomb of La Valette is from the pen of Starkey.

La Cassière was succeeded by Hugh Loubenx de Verdala, bailiff of Provence, and grand-commander. It was during his rule, in 1592, that Gargallo, bishop of Malta, summoned the Jesuits to the island. There they speedily established themselves, and in their turn formed a separate jurisdiction of their own. Malta was from this time destined to be the seat of four distinct religious powers—the bishop, the inquisitor, the Jesuits, and the Grand-Master—whence arose endless disputes and jealousies, which much aided in aggravating the discord between the rival nationalities of France and Spain. Verdala has left several memorials of his sway in the fortifications he constructed in the island of Gozo, and by the erection of a country residence near the Città Notabile for the use of the Grand-Master, which has always borne his name. He was the first chief who held the office of Turcopolier in connection with that post. The Pope felt that all immediate prospect of a return of the English nation to Roman Catholicism was at an end, and that there was consequently no hope of an early revival of the *langue*. To prevent the ancient dignity belonging to the conventual bailiwick of England from becoming altogether lost, he attached it to the Grand-Mastership, so as to preserve it intact until brighter days for the *langue* should arise.

The successor of Verdala was Martin Garces, the castellan of Emposta. He was seventy years of age at the time of his election, and during his brief rule of six years no event of importance occurred. He was followed, in 1601, by Alof de Vignacourt, who thus became the fifty-second Grand-Master. Several naval exploits of more or less

importance graced the annals of his rule. Successful descents were made on Barbary, Patras, Lepanto, and Lango; Laizzo and Corinth also witnessed the daring exploits of adventurous knights, who returned from these various expeditions with a vast amount of booty, and the magazine of Malta was in consequence stocked with a large additional number of slaves.

That these exploits bore in any appreciable degree on the general issue of the struggle between the Christian and the Moslem is more than can be asserted. The time when the knights of St. John were content to expend their energies and shed their blood simply in defence of their faith, without regard to gain, had passed away. Now they no longer sought in open field to crush the foe against whom their profession engaged them to maintain a constant warfare. Looking rather to their personal enrichment than to the public advantage, they strove by isolated plundering exploits to obtain for their convent and themselves a rich reward.

The name of de Vignacourt has in Malta become inseparably connected with the aqueduct which he caused to be made. Destitute as the towns of Valetta and Vittoriosa are of all natural springs, the inhabitants were compelled, before his time, to depend for their water supply entirely upon excavated tanks, and in the event of a dry season suffered greatly. To obviate this evil, de Vignacourt constructed a very fine aqueduct, carried principally on arches, which brought water into Valetta from some springs in the Benjemma hills. This aqueduct is upwards of nine miles in length, and carries the water into every part of the city, supplying numerous fountains which succeeding Grand-Masters have erected in convenient localities.

The same fate befel de Vignacourt as that which struck down La Valette. He received a sunstroke whilst hunting in the month of August, 1622, and died a few weeks after at the age of seventy-five. His successor, Louis Mendes de Vasconcellos, only survived his election six months being nearly eighty years old at the time of his nomination. It seems that at this period it was the practice of the fraternity to elect the most aged knights to the supreme control, with a view to the frequent vacancy of the post. A more suicidal policy could scarcely have been conceived. Men worn out by a long life of excitement and enterprise could hardly be expected to retain sufficient energy to conduct with prudence and skill a government fraught with so many difficulties both from within and without. Where inflexible determination and vigorous promptitude in action were the essential requisites to a successful administration, these feeble and decrepit veterans, sinking into their dotage, were utterly useless. It is mainly owing to this fact that during the seventeenth century the power of the Grand-Masters and the vitality of the Order itself suffered so rapid and marked a diminution.

In pursuance of this short-sighted policy, Vasconcellos was followed in 1623 by Antoine de Paule, grand-prior of St. Gilles, who was seventy-one years old. He, however, disappointed general expectations by living to the age of eighty-five. Throughout his rule expeditions similar in character to those under de Vignacourt constantly took place. Useless for all national purposes, and partaking largely of a piratical character, they served only to irritate the Turks without enfeebling their power. The knights of Malta were gradually degenerating into a race very similar in character and pursuits to the robber hordes who swarmed within the harbours of Algiers and Tunis. The

worldly prosperity, however, of those over whom they held sway was materially increased, and the influx of wealth, consequent on the many rich prizes they annually seized, raised the island of Malta to a position of opulence and commercial importance to which it had for centuries been a stranger. In the year 1632 a census was held, and the numbers then recorded amounted to 51,750 souls. When L'Isle Adam, a century earlier, had first established his convent home there, the population barely exceeded 17,000.

Antoine de Paule died on the 10th June, 1637, and was again succeeded by an aged knight. This was John Paul de Lascaris, castellan of the *langue* of Provence, who was seventy-six years old when elected, in spite of which he held his office no less than twenty-one years, dying at the extraordinary age of ninety-seven. During his rule the battle of the Dardanelles was fought by the combined fleets of Venice and Malta. This was the most important naval victory which had been gained over the Turks since that of Lepanto. In a contemporary newspaper, published in London, called the *Mercurius Politicus*, a full account of this action is given, from which the following extracts are taken:—"The navy of the 'republick was composed of twenty-eight great ships, 'twenty-four galleys, and seven galeasses, to which 'was joyned the galleys of Malta, commanded by the 'lord-prior of Roccellia. The navy of the republick 'kept in the narrowest part of the channel, so that the 'Turks could not come forth without accepting the 'battel which was offered." "The battel being thus 'begun, the captain-general, Laurence Marcello, accompanied with the general of Malta, came up, intermingling with the rest of the Venetian commanders, and vessels fell to it pel-mel. After the Turks had

“used their utmost endeavours to avoid the fight, being
“hemmed in by the Venetian fleet, and having no place
“left to escape, they were forced to fight with the more
“eagerness, because they had lost all hope of making a
“retreat, and so commended their safety to the conflict
“whereby they gave means to the Venetians the more
“to exalt their triumph and glory over their enemies, all
“the enemy being totally routed by the sword, by fire
“and by water; the captain, Bassa, only saving himself
“with fourteen galleys; which hath crowned the republick
“with one of the greatest victories that ever was heard
“of in former times. The number of the enemies’ dead
“cannot be known nor discovered among so many ships
“and galleys taken and consumed by fire and water.
“About the shore there were seen huge heaps of dead
“bodies, and in the bay of a certain little valley there
“appeared so great a quantity of carcasses that it caused
“horror in the beholders. The number of Christian
“slaves freed on this occasion is near upon five thou-
“sand.” “The Venetians having reserved some of
“the enemies’ ships of all sorts in memory of the
“successes, besides eleven which those of Malta had taken,
“it was resolved upon to burn the rest.” “The valour,
“courage, and magnanimity wherewith all the Venetians
“and Malteses did behave themselves on this occasion
“may better be understood by the action than by dis-
“course.”

The lord-prior of Roccellia here alluded to was Gregory Caraffa, grand-prior of La Rocella, a member of the *langue* of Italy, and afterwards Grand-Master.

During the sway of Lascaris a great development of the fortifications of Mount Sceberras took place. The city of Valetta had hitherto been protected by a line of ramparts,

which cut off the lower portion of the peninsula from the mainland. Not deeming this single line a sufficient defence on the land side, the only direction from which an attack was to be feared, Lascaris engaged an Italian engineer named Floriani to design a new enceinte. This scheme met with warm opposition from the council, who thought the original trace sufficiently strong; but, in spite of all protests, Lascaris adopted the project, which was pushed forward with great vigour during the remainder of his life, after which it was suspended until the year 1721, when it was finally completed. The suburb contained between the two lines has received the name of Floriana, after its designer.

Malta is also indebted to this Grand-Master for the splendid public library, which he established in 1650, and which gradually increased until it attained proportions exceeded by few similar institutions. This rapid augmentation was the result of a decree that on the death of a knight his books should not be sold with the rest of his property for the benefit of the treasury, but should be sent to the public library, either to swell its extent, or, in the case of duplicates, to be exchanged. This collection is situated in a very fine building, erected for the purpose by Lascaris. It is particularly rich in old and rare volumes, as well as in illuminated missals and manuscripts.

After the death of Lascaris, in 1657, several rapid changes of Grand-Masters took place, marked by no events of importance. Martin de Redin, grand-prior of Navarre, his successor, died in 1660; after whom came Annet de Lermont, bailiff of Lyons, who only enjoyed his position for three months, when he was in his turn replaced by Raphael Cottoner, bailiff of Majorca, who died in 1663, and was followed by his brother, Nicholas Cottoner.

Only once before had two brothers been named in succession to the Grand-Mastership, the two Villarets having attained to that honour.

It was during the rule of Nicholas Cottoner that the visit of the English fleet, under Sir John Narbrough, took place, so graphically described in the journal of the Rev. Henry Teonge, chaplain on board H.M.S. *Assistance*. There had been much dispute on the question of salutes and a somewhat acrimonious correspondence took place between Narbrough and the local authorities on the subject. The following extracts from Teonge's diary bear on the point:—

“August 1st, 1675.—This morn we com near Malta before we com to the cytty a boate, with the Maltese flagg in it, coms to us to know whence wee cam. We told them from England; they asked if wee had a bill of health for prattick, viz., entertaynment. Our captain told them he had no bill, but what was in his guns' mouths. We cam on and anchored in the harbour, betweene the old toune and the new, about nine of the clock, but must wait the governour's leasure to have leave to com on shoare, which was detarded because our captain would not salute the cytty except they would retaliate. At last came the consull with his attendants to our ship (but would not com on board till our captain had been on shoare) to tell us that we had leave to com on shoare, six or eight or ten at a time, and might have anything that was there to be had, with a promise to accept our salute kindly. Whereupon our captain tooke a glass of sack and drank a health to King Charles, and fyred seven gunns; the cytty gave us five again, which was more than they had don to all our men of warr that cam thither before.”

This salute did not, however, apparently satisfy Nar

brough, since a letter of remonstrance from him on the subject is dated seven weeks later. That the Grand-Master did eventually salute his flag to his heart's content is clear by the following entry in the diary.

“February 11th, 1676.—Sir John Narbrough cam in from Trypoly, and four more ships with him. The noble Maltese salute him with forty-five guns; he answered them with so many that I could not count them. And what with our salutes and his answers, there was nothing but fyre and smoake for almost two hours.”

The behaviour of the townspeople seems to have been most courteous, as witness the following entry:—

“August 2nd, 1675.—This cytty is compassed almost leare round with the sea, which makes severall safe harbours for hundreds of shippes. The people are generally extremely courteouse, but especially to the English. A man cannot demonstrate all their excellencys and ingenuities. Let it suffice to say thus much of this place, viz.: Had a man no other business to invite him, yet it were sufficiently worth a man's cost and paines to make a voyage out of England on purpose to see that noble cytty of Malta and their works and fortifications about it. Several of their knights and cavaliers com on board us, sixt one time, men of sufficient courage and friendly carriage, wishing us good successe in our voyage, with whom I had much discourse, I being the only entertainer because I could speak Latine, for which I was highly esteemed, and much invited on shoare again.

“August 3rd. This morning a boate of ladys with their musick to our ship's syde, and bottels of wine with them. They went severall times about our ship, and sang several songs very sweetly; very rich in habitt and very courteouse in behaviour, but would not com on board though invited;

but having taken their frisks, returned as they com. After them com in a boat four fryars, and cam round about our ship, puld off their hatts and capps, saluted us with congjes, and departed. After them cam a boat of musitians, played severall lessons as they rowed gently round about us, and went their way.

“August 4.—This morning our captain was invited to dine with the Grand-Master, which hindered our departure. And now wee are preparing to sail for Trypoly, *Deus vortat bene.*” Here the worthy chaplain, in his excitement, drops into poetry—

“Thus wee, the *Assistance*, and the new Sattée,
Do steare our course poynt blanke for Trypoly;
Our ship new rigged, well stord with pigg and ghoose-a
Henns, ducks, and turkeys, and wine cald Syracoosa.”

Cottoner was very desirous of rivalling the fame of Lascaris by adding something important to the defences of the island, and for this purpose he invoked the skill of the celebrated Italian engineer Valperga. With his assistance, and under his direction, a stupendous work was commenced, sweeping round in rear of the two peninsulas of the Bourg and Senglea, so as to enclose them and a large extent of ground behind them in one vast enceinte. This line, which forms a complete semicircle, is little short of three miles in length, and includes nine bastions, with two demi-bastions at the extremities. The first stone was laid by Cottoner in the bastion of St Nicholas on the 28th August, 1670, with great pomp, and the work thus commenced was pushed forward rapidly. For ten years was the building carried on under the eye of the Grand-Master, who felt his honour intimately bound up with the fortification to which he had given his name, and at his death the ramparts had throughout been raised

to the level of the cordon. By this time the treasury was almost exhausted, and his successor suspended the work. When the island fell into the possession of the English the defences of Cottonera were still unfinished. Indeed, it was not until some twenty-five years ago that the design, altered to suit the exigencies of modern warfare, was really completed. Many additions were also made by Cottoner to the defences of Floriana which had not been completed by Lascaris, and to increase the protection of the grand harbour a new fort was erected on the extreme point at its eastern entrance. This was called fort Ricasoli, having been constructed mainly at the cost of the knight Francesco Ricasoli, from the designs of Valperga.

Nicholas Cottoner died in the year 1680, at the age of seventy-three, deeply regretted in the convent, where he had been most deservedly popular. The public works which he carried on not only added materially to the security of the island, but also afforded constant employment to the inhabitants, and thereby developed their well-being. Although we shall find this prosperity continuing to a certain extent under his successors, still every year hastened the decadence of the fraternity. The want which originally called the Order into existence had passed away. As long as the Turkish power continued to increase, and the ambitious policy of its rulers made it a perpetual source of uneasiness to Europe, so long were the knights of St. John, as its natural and worn foes, recognized as a necessity. The reign of Solyman the Magnificent had been its culminating point, and after his death many causes contributed to the rapid diminution of its strength. For upwards of a century this decline was too gradual and imperceptible to calm the fears of Europe. Aggressions still continued, and had

to be met ; Hungary and Poland, Candia and the Levant, were still the scenes of much bloody strife and many a hardly contested fight. In most of these the Order bore its part, and bore it manfully ; but from the middle of the seventeenth century it became no longer possible to doubt the serious and rapidly accelerating reduction of the Turkish power. True, the Ottomans now and again rallied fitfully ; it was after this date that they effected the conquest of Candia, and at a still later time we find them under the walls of Vienna threatening the existence of Austria. These, however, appear to have been the last expiring efforts of their ambition ; they gradually withdrew within the limits of their own empire, and the fears of Europe subsided permanently. As a natural result of this decadence the Order of St. John also degenerated, and eventually became so effete that, when at the close of another century it was swept away, no friendly voice was raised in its behalf.

CHAPTER XIII.

The career of a knight as a novice, professed knight, commander, and bailiff—The auberges—The chaplains—Position of the Grand-Master—His election, household, and revenues—The Navy—Revenues of the Order—Property and dignities of the various *langues*—The Hospital—Description of the establishment at Malta—Its regulations and staff—Criticisms of Howard.

BEFORE entering upon the history of the Order during the last century of its existence—a period marked by but few events of importance—it will be well to break off the chain of the narrative, and give some details as to its social habits and observances in the days of its prosperity.

From the time when the first division into *langues* was instituted no intermixture was ever permitted between them. A postulant for admission preferred his request either at the *chef-lieu*, to the bailiff of the *langue* of which he was a native, or at one of the grand-priories in his own country. If he sought admission as a knight of justice, the necessary proofs of nobility were demanded, after which he was accepted as a novice, and at the expiration of a year became a professed knight. The age at which a postulant was received as a novice was sixteen, but he was not required to take up his residence at the convent until he was twenty, when he was bound to proceed

thither in order to perform the military and naval duties of his position. Each completed year of such service was called a "caravan," and the number of these "caravans" required for qualification as a commander was three. In addition to these three years of active service, he was bound to reside for two more years at the convent before he could be made a commander, so that the earliest age at which he could attain to that office was twenty-five. To be made a bailiff, a knight must have been professed for fifteen years, and have resided at the convent for ten years. During this period he was attached to the *auberge* of his *langue*, where he lived at the table furnished by the conventual bailiff. Promotion to a commandery transferred him back again to his native province, unless he held an office at the *chef-lieu* of corresponding rank. He continued to reside on his commandery until he had attained such seniority as qualified him for the office of conventual bailiff, upon nomination to which he returned to the *chef-lieu*.

The conventual bailiffs, one for each *langue*, resided in their respective *auberges*, which were large and stately buildings, erected for the purpose out of the public funds. The treasury issued an allowance to each bailiff for the expenses of his office, and it also granted a daily ration for every person entitled to a seat at the tables he was obliged to maintain. Every member of the *langue* resident at the convent, whether knight, chaplain, or serving brother, had this right, excepting commanders, who held a benefice of £200 a year as knights, or of £100 a year as chaplains or serving brothers. The allowance issued was by no means sufficient to cover the cost of these tables. It consisted of sixty gold crowns a month in money, and a daily ration in kind for each person of one rotolo of fresh

neat, or two-thirds that amount of salt meat, and on fast days, in lieu of the above, a due portion of fish, or four eggs, together with six small loaves of bread and a quartuccio of wine.* Members were entitled to three meals daily. The bailiff was supposed to provide only simple diets, such as these rations would afford, but it rarely happened that he restricted himself within those limits. The sumptuousness and prodigality of the tables actually maintained depended on his disposition and wealth. A spirit of rivalry naturally sprang up in the various *langues*, and the bailiff who maintained his *auberge* on the most open-handed scale generally found his account in the popularity he thereby gained. Amongst the regulations laid down in the statutes for the maintenance of order in the *auberges* was one prohibiting the introduction of dogs, on the plea that they consumed too much food. Another strictly forbade the members from striking the servants. These latter were generally slaves, captured during their cruises. Doubtless the post of servant in an *auberge* was a far less repulsive lot than that of a galley slave chained to an oar, and was consequently sought after by such captives as were of gentle birth. Hence, probably, the stringency of the regulation as to their treatment.

The chaplains of the Order were received without any of those restrictions as to birth placed on the admission of the knights of justice. It was sufficient to prove that they were of respectable origin, and that their parents had been married. They were accepted at the age of sixteen as clerks, and were ordained sub-deacons two years after. They could not attain to the rank of deacon until they were twenty-two years of age, nor to that of chaplain

* The rotolo weighed $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb., and the quartuccio was about three mts.

earlier than twenty-five. They were then available for all the religious offices of the convent, and were attached for the performance of divine service either to the conventual cathedral of St. John; to the household of the Grand-Master; the Hospital; or the *auberge* of their *langue*; or else they performed their caravans on board the galleys to which they were posted during a cruise. It was from this class that the prior of the church of St. John and the bishop of Malta were chosen; the former by the Grand-Master in council, the latter by the Pope.

In addition to the conventual chaplains, the Order received into the second, or ecclesiastical, division of its fraternity another class termed priests of obedience, who were not called on to reside at the *chef-lieu*, but performed the sacred duties of their office in the various continental grand-priories and commanderies. These priests received the emoluments of their benefices like other clergy, and where such revenues were too small for their due and honourable maintenance they were entitled to a further provision from the local treasury. They were not eligible for either of the great offices which were appropriated to the conventual chaplains, and they were never appointed, like the latter, to the position of commander. They were usually natives of the province in which they performed their duties, and to the *langue* of which they were attached. After the Order had settled in Malta, its conventual chaplains were mainly recruited from the inhabitants of that island, and the dignities of bishop and prior, which both ranked with the conventual bailiffs, were constantly held by Maltese. This, however, had not been the case at Rhodes. There the natives, belonging almost all to the Greek church, were unable to enter the ranks of the fraternity, and although there was much toleration, and ever

cordiality, between the members of the two churches, the Order was compelled to seek elsewhere for Roman Catholic priests to fill the ranks of its conventual chaplains.

The position of the third class, or serving brothers, has already been touched on in the 4th Chapter, and no further details seem needed on that branch of the subject.

The influence and powers of the Grand-Master had gradually become much enlarged from what they had been in the earlier years of the institution. Peter Gerard, the first *Custos*, or Master of the Hospital, was only the superior of a monastic establishment of but little consideration. Under Raymond du Puy the dignity of the office was greatly raised. Much wealth had poured in, and extensive possessions in most of the countries of Europe had materially increased the esteem in which the Order was held, and consequently improved the social and political status of its head. He was no longer merely a monk, the superior of a body of monks; he was now the leader of a select band of warriors, a corps which comprised in its ranks all that was knightly and noble in Europe. Ere long the Master of St. John became a personage of no mean importance, consulted and courted by the monarch, and treated by all with the most deferential respect. As time rolled on, and grant after grant was made to the Order, its wealth, numbers, and political consideration increased, until in the later days of the unfortunate kingdom of Jerusalem, the chiefs of the Hospital and Temple occupied the highest position in the state after the monarch. It was in these times that the high-sounding title of *Magnus Magister* or Grand-Master was adopted.

The expulsion of the fraternity from Palestine seemed at first likely to reduce, if not utterly to annihilate, the

political importance of its chief. For some years its fate for good or ill hung in the balance. The bold and successful conception of Villaret determined favourably the doubtful question, and from that time we find the Grand-Master occupying a far more influential position than even in the most palmy days of Christian domination in the East. The acquisition of the island of Rhodes gave him at once the dignity and privileges of a ruling prince. Though his dominion was but small and his subjects few, the military colony at Rhodes was not unimportant. The powerful navy which the brethren organized, and with which they scoured the Levant, rendered most valuable assistance to the commerce of Europe. The Grand-Master, therefore, in his new rank of sovereign prince, now found himself entering into communication with the various courts of Europe somewhat on terms of equality. The transfer of the convent to Malta, and the terror inspired by the establishment of the piratical kingdoms on the north coast of Africa, enhanced this consideration. The island, when garrisoned by the knights of St. John, became an advanced post and bulwark of Christianity, protecting Sicily and Italy from the aggressions of the Moslem. The Pope and the Spanish monarch, both feeling the benefit of the services rendered, invariably treated its ruler with a consideration and respect which his position would scarcely otherwise have warranted.

The election of a Grand-Master took place on the third day after the occurrence of a vacancy. The qualifications for a voter were that he must be eighteen years of age, and have resided for three years in Malta, that he had performed three caravans, and was not indebted to the treasury in a larger sum than ten crowns. On the day

of election the proceedings commenced with the celebration of mass in St. John's church, all the electors being present. After this the members of the various *langues* retired into their respective chapels, and each named three of its members, all knights of justice, into whose hands it confided the further conduct of the election. After the suspension of the *langue* of England, its three electors were chosen in the following manner. Each of the other *langues*, in addition to its own three representatives, nominated a fourth for England. Out of the seven thus put forward, three were selected by the other twenty-one electors to act for the dormant *langue*.

These twenty-four knights then proceeded to name what was called the triumvirate, consisting of a knight, a chaplain, and a serving brother. These three chose a fourth, the four a fifth, and so on until the original trio had been increased to sixteen, there being no restriction as to *langue* or class. The sixteen then elected the Grand-Master.

The revenue attached to the office amounted to upwards of £40,000 a year during the later period of its existence. This was furnished partly from pensions derived from certain commanderies, and partly from customs, excise, and stamp duties in the island. The household of the Grand-Master was superintended by twelve knights, and he was attended by sixteen pages. These were received as knights of justice at the age of twelve years, and during their three years of service as pages were entirely maintained by their friends. Although the expenses of the post were large there were always plenty of candidates, owing to the seniority gained by their being professed so young.

The ceremonial of the table when the Grand-Master

dined in public was very elaborate, the grandest occasions being at the festivals of Christmas and Easter. There were also the most gorgeous ecclesiastical functions on the 24th June, the festival of St. John the Baptist, and on the 8th September, the Nativity of the Virgin, and the anniversary of the raising the siege of Malta.

It was contrary to etiquette for the Grand-Master usually to pay visits. He was, however, sufficiently gallant to visit the three convents of St. Ursula, St. Catherine, and St. Magdalen, both at Christmas and Easter. He was bound to inspect the Hospital periodically, and on such occasions he donned an apron, and personally distributed the portions of food. He was supposed in this manner to fulfil his functions as a knight Hospitaller.

The navy of the Order was under the command of the bailiff of Auvergne as grand-marshal, the bailiff of Italy being second in command as grand-admiral. These two dignitaries had charge of the land forces also; indeed, the two services were so mixed up that it would have been difficult to draw any line between them. Every knight, whilst performing his caravans, was attached to one of the battalions, either of the galleys or ships. As the two above-named dignitaries held their offices *ex-officio* as heads of their respective *langues*, the actual duty of superintendence would often have been but ill performed had it been left solely to them. An officer was consequently selected, subordinate to them, who exercised the real control under the title of general of the galleys. Until near the end of the seventeenth century the fleet consisted exclusively of galleys. It was with a navy thus composed that the knights earned that brilliant reputation which gave them the privilege that the flag of every other nation saluted the White Cross. Eventually, however, an addition

was gradually made of vessels of other types. The number of galleys varied greatly according to circumstances. During the warlike times of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they had been very numerous, but after that they gradually dwindled, until at length only four were left. The fleet of ships had at first consisted of three, to which a fourth as well as three frigates were afterwards added.

The revenues of the Order consisted of the following items, whence its ordinary income was derived:—

1. *Responsions*.—The nature of these payments has been already described, being one-third of the net revenue for each commandery.

2. *Mortuary and Vacancy*.—When a commander died the net revenue of his commandery, from the day of his death till the 1st of May following, was paid into the treasury as *mortuary*. The revenue of the next year was similarly paid as *vacancy*.

3. *Passages*.—This was a sum paid by candidates for admission. The amounts varied greatly at different times. Latterly it was—for knights of justice, £100; chaplains, £80; servants-at-arms, £92. Donats paid £26 8s.

4. *Spoils*.—This was the produce of the effects of a deceased knight, four-fifths of which fell to the treasury, the owner being permitted to dispose by will of one-fifth only. There were also sundry minor items not worth enumerating, the above four sources providing nearly five-sixths of the total revenue.

The European property of the Order was divided in the following manner:—

The *langue* of Provence consisted of the two grand-priorities of St. Gilles and Toulouse, with the bailiwick of

Manosque. The grand-priory of St. Gilles contained fifty-three, and that of Toulouse thirty commanderies.

The *langue* of Auvergne consisted of the grand-priory of Auvergne and the bailiwick of Lyons, the priory containing fifty-two commanderies.

The *langue* of France consisted of the three grand-priories of France, Aquitaine, and Champagne, the first containing fifty-eight, the second thirty-one, and the third twenty-four commanderies.

The *langue* of Italy comprised seven grand-priories and five bailiwicks. The priories were Lombardy, containing thirty-six commanderies; Rome, nineteen; Venice, twenty-eight; Pisa, sixteen; Capua, twenty; Burletta, twelve; and Messina, eleven. The bailiwicks were St. Euphemia, St. Stephen, Holy Trinity of Venousa, St. John of Naples, and St. Sebastian.

The *langue* of Aragon comprised the three grand-priories of Aragon (commonly called the Castellany of Emposta), Catalonia, and Navarre. The first embraced thirty commanderies, the second twenty-nine, and the third eighteen.

The *langue* of Germany comprised the three grand-priories of Germany, Bohemia, and Dacia or Hungary, containing between them fifty-six commanderies.

The *langue* of Castile and Portugal was divided into the three grand-priories of Castile, Leon, and Portugal, containing between them seventy-five commanderies.

The *langue* of England, prior to its suppression, contained the grand-priories of England and Ireland, and the bailiwick of the Eagle. Later on, in the year 1782, the dormant *langue* was combined with that of Bavaria, under the title of Anglo-Bavaria. The new *langue* was, however, exclusively Bavarian. Its two grand-priories of Ebersberg and Poland were divided into twenty-nine and

thirty-two commanderies respectively. It had also the bailiwick of Neuberg.

It will thus be seen that the European property of the Order contained nearly 700 distinct estates, each of which maintained several members, afforded a liberal income to its commander, and contributed its quota to that of the grand-prior. The balance only, after all this had been extracted from its resources, fell to the treasury of Malta. During the eighteenth century this balance averaged something like £50,000 — the gross income having mounted to little short of a million sterling.

The next point of interest in connection with the Order was its Hospital. As the fraternity owed its existence and title to its Hospitaller functions, its earlier chiefs spared no pains and no expense to render themselves worthy of the name they assumed. Even in the midst of the bloody wars in which the Order found itself constantly involved, and at times when its reverses had almost threatened utter annihilation, the doors of the convent were ever open for the reception of the weary wanderer. Should his health have given way under the hardships and toil to which as a pilgrim he had been exposed, he received within the walls of this charitable institution every care and attention that Christian benevolence could suggest. The knight returned from his deeds of daring on the battlefield, doffed his harness, laid aside his trusty sword, and, assuming the peaceful black mantle of his Order, proceeded to devote himself to those acts of charity which were ever being carried on within his convent walls. As long as the brethren remained in Palestine this state of things continued. During that period they had amassed from the donations and bequests of the pious enormous and ever-increasing

wealth. This had, doubtless, brought in its train many evils and much degeneracy; it had made them many bitter enemies, and rendered indifferent many of their warmest friends; still, we never hear among the numerous crimes laid to their charge, even by the most rancorous of their foes, that of negligence in this fundamental obligation of their profession.

After their expulsion from Palestine, no doubt a change took place; established in the island of Rhodes, the great demand which had once existed for this support and hospitality fell off. There were no longer sick and weary pilgrims to cheer on their way; the requirements of their Hospital in the island home they had adopted soon became only what the slender population in the midst of which they were living demanded. Thus we find the noble establishment, which in previous ages had called forth the enthusiastic admiration of all Christians in the Holy Land, dwarfed down to a very limited charity. The sick and needy could still procure all necessary assistance from the Hospital, and care was taken to render it as perfect and convenient as possible, yet at the best it was but a pigmy affair compared with the magnificent establishment which the knights had reared within the precincts of the sacred city.

The translation of the fraternity to Malta produced no great change in this respect. Mindful of their old traditions, one of the earliest measures taken when fixing their convent on the rocky heights of their new home was to found a Hospital. There was already existing at the Città Notabile a small establishment which had sufficed for the limited wants of the population prior to their advent; this was at once adapted to suit their temporary requirements. It was afterwards entirely rebuilt

by the Grand-Master de Vilhena. In addition to that, they founded another Hospital in the Bourg. This building still exists, and is now part of the monastery of Sta. Scholastica, the chapel being to this day used for ecclesiastical purposes. On it is the date 1533, with the arms of L'Isle Adam. On the transfer of the *chef-lieu* to Valetta, the Hospital followed it. The selection of the new site was most unwise, being at the lower extremity of the promontory of Mount Sceberras, not far from fort St. Elmo, where it is cut off from all the cooler breezes, and exposed to the south-east or scirocco wind, which in Malta is most trying and deleterious to the sick. It has received the unqualified condemnation of modern sanitary scientists; and although we do not look for the same knowledge in the sixteenth century as in the present day, it does seem strange that such elementary errors should have been committed in the choice of a position, when it is remembered that the city was still unbuilt, and therefore any point within the enceinte available.

This building, which has been used as a military hospital ever since the island was transferred to England, remains much what it was in the days of the Order. It consists of two squares or courts, one on a much lower level than the other. The far side of the lower square is prolonged in the same direction until it reaches a length of upwards of 500 feet with a width of 35 feet. This forms one long ward. The Rev. W. Bedford, in the preface to his "Regulations of the old Hospital of the knights of St. John at Valletta," says: "The first erection seems to have been the great hall, now divided by partitions which do not reach more than half its height, but containing under one roof a room 503 feet long, 34 feet 10 inches broad, and 30 feet 6 inches high. The beams of the roof appear to

“be red deal, although common report states Sicilian chestnut to be the wood employed in their construction. The apartment at right angles also formed part of the same great hall, though now divided by another partition of about twelve feet in height. There seems to have been a communication with the sea by means of a vaulted passage, a portion of which, cut off by rough masonry, was brought to light during the sewerage excavations. At the end of this large apartment is a small oratory, and there are traces of an altar, above which now hangs a large picture representing the reception of the hand of St. John by the Grand-Master D’Aubusson. All down the wall on the sea side of the apartment are little recesses which were used as latrines in former days. The windows were high and small, so that the apartment was (and is, even with its additional windows) very dull and somewhat close. The dreariness of the room was relieved in former times by tapestries and pictures, the work of Matteo Preti and others. To those who look at sanitation with the eyes of the seventeenth century, there is nothing but admiration to be given to the costly, nay, lavish arrangements and service of the Hospital. The buildings were extended in 1662, and again by the Grand-Master Perellos in 1712. In Perellos’ time also the chapel of the Holy Sacrament was erected opposite the ward for the dying.”

Such was the Hospital of the Order in Malta; it now remains to discuss its organization. Supreme in its governance was the conventual bailiff of France, the grand hospitaller. He nominated from amongst the knights of his own *langue* an overseer of the Hospital, under whose immediate charge the whole institution was placed. The medical staff consisted of three physicians, two assistants

physicians, three surgeons, two assistant surgeons, a lecturer on anatomy, and six medical students, called "*barberotti*," also a barber surgeon for phlebotomy, and an experienced female nurse for cases of scurvy. The physicians and surgeons were each on duty every third month, residing during that time at the Hospital; the assistants were on duty every other month. The religious functions of the establishment were performed by a prior, a vice-prior, and eight priests of obedience. A Greek pope also received an annual gratuity to administer the sacrament to such of the sick as belonged to the Greek church. As a committee of inspection over all these officials, the Grand-Master in council appointed two "*prud'hommes*," or controllers of the Hospital, who were held responsible for its proper management. Among the inferior officials were a secretary to the "*prud'hommes*," a "clerk of the habit," or steward; a "*linciere*," to take charge of the linen and furniture; a "*bottigliere*," for the wine, bread, oil, etc.; two cooks, one purveyor, and fourteen ward servants (probably slaves); also an "*armoriere*," who had charge of all the silver plate. This latter was considerable in quantity, most of the utensils being of that metal; but this was less as a matter of ostentation than of cleanliness. The following list shows of what the plate in the Hospital consisted during the early part of the eighteenth century: 250 bowls, 356 dishes, 1 large dish, 167 cups, 3 large basins, 12 basins, 256 spoons, 10 large spoons, 10 forks, 43 quart measures, 4 drinking cups, 1 drinking vessel, 1 casket, 13 lamps, 8 pots, in sizes, 4 jugs, 1 salver. The whole weighed nearly 5,000 ounces. The beds numbered 370 with curtains, and 375 without curtains. The total average of sick in the Hospital during the early part of the eighteenth century ranged between 400 and 500.

For the comfort of the invalids in winter, the walls of the wards were hung with woollen curtains (evidently in utter ignorance of all sanitary science). In summer these were taken down and pictures placed in their stead. The regulations about food were these:—"The '*prud'hommes*' look after the good quality of the materials used in the preparation of the food, selecting always the best of everything. The sick, therefore, are given the best soup, made of fowls, herbs, vermicelli, rice, etc., and every sort of meat that has been ordered for them, such as chickens, pigeons, poultry, beef, veal, game, hashes, fricassees, stews, sausages, etc., in such quantities as are necessary; also fresh eggs, pomegranates, plums, and grapes, and every kind of refreshment allowed to sick people; such as biscuits, apples, fruit, sugar, and all sorts of confectionery, each according to his wants. Members of the Order receive a double portion." Many articles of food contained in this list appear to modern notions somewhat unsuited for the dietary of a hospital.

The following statute shows that the duties of the Hospital were considered incumbent on all members:—"The training of the brethren of the Order prescribes religious hospitality; therefore, at the dinner hour they must come to wait on the sick, and bring to their beds the portions prescribed for them from the place where the food is issued, and if the sick do not fancy what has been prepared for them, they must exchange it with the sanction of the physician. They must also warm up the portions and render all necessary assistance. But as all being present together might create confusion, each *langue* has a day assigned to it for the service of the Hospital: Provence, Sunday; Auvergne, Monday; France, Tuesday; Italy, Wednesday; Aragon, Thursday; Germany

“Friday; Castile and Portugal, Saturday. The novices
“are bound to assist in the Hospital as above, each on the
“day fixed for his *langue*, and that none may omit such a
“proper work of charity, a check is kept by the grand-
“cross master of the novices and by two commissaries, his
“colleagues, who bring with them a clerk to note the names
“of those who fail to come, so as to admonish them. On Holy
“Thursday the grand-hospitaller, with all the knights of
“the *langue* of France, assemble in the room where the
“Sepulchre is represented, and with exemplary charity
“wash the feet of twelve poor men, to whom large alms
“are afterwards given.”

The burial of such as died within the establishment was decently and carefully ordered. Four men in mourning robes carried the corpse to the grave; and, with an eye to economy, the statutes specially provide that these robes “should be preserved for another time.” No mourning was to be worn at the funeral of any member of the fraternity, either by the knights themselves or by strangers attending the ceremony. The corpse was buried in the mantle of his Order.

The Hospital of St. John had, from its earliest foundation, been esteemed a sanctuary within which fugitives from justice might escape the clutches of the law. The exceptions to this right of sanctuary became, however, by successive decrees, so numerous, that it is difficult to conceive what crimes remained for which it continued to afford shelter. “No assassins shall find protection there; nor
“those who pillage and ravage the country by night, nor
“incendiaries, nor sodomites, nor thieves, nor conspirators,
“nor those who have been found guilty of having caused
“the death of any one, either by secret treachery or in cold
“blood, or by poison, or by treason. No servant of any

“of the brethren shall find sanctuary there, nor those
“who have offered any violence, either to them or to our
“judges or other ministers of justice, nor debtors, nor such
“malicious persons as may have committed crimes within
“the infirmary under the idea that it was a sanctuary;
“nor, lastly, lawyers or witnesses convicted of perjury,
“nor murderers who infest the roads to rob and kill the
“passers-by.”

It has already been pointed out how objectionable the site of the Hospital was from a sanitary point of view. The internal arrangements evidently were also not all that a strict sanitarian could desire. Howard the philanthropist, in his “Lazarettos in Europe in 1789,” thus speaks of it: “The pavement is of neat marble or stone squares. “The ceiling is lofty; but being wood, now turned black, “the windows being small, and the walls hung round “with dusty pictures, this noble hall makes but a gloomy “appearance. All the patients lie single. One ward is “for patients dangerously sick or dying, another for “patients of a middle rank of life, and the third for the “lower and poorer sort of patients. In this last ward “(which is the largest) there were four rows of beds; in “the others only two. They were all so dirty and offensive “as to create the necessity of perfuming them, and yet I “observed that the physician in going his rounds was “obliged to keep his handkerchief to his face. The “use of perfume I always reckon a proof of inattention “to cleanliness and airiness, and this inattention struck “me forcibly on opening some of the private closets with “which this hall is very properly furnished. The patients “are twice a day, at eight and four, served with provisions, “one of the knights and the under-physician constantly “attending in the two halls and seeing the distribution.

From the kitchen, which is darker and more offensive than even the lower hall, to which it adjoins, the broth, rice, soup, and vermicelli are brought in dirty kettles first to the upper hall, and there poured into three silver bowls, out of which the patients are served. Those who are in the ward for the very sick and those of the middle rank of life are served in plates, dishes, and spoons of silver; but the other patients (who are the most numerous) are served on pewter.* I objected to the sweet cakes and two sorts of clammy sweetmeats which were given to the patients. The number of patients who were in this hospital during the time I was in Malta (29th March to 19th April, 1786) was from 510 to 532. These were served by the most dirty, ragged, unfeeling, and inhuman persons I ever saw. I once saw eight or nine of them highly entertained with a delirious, dying patient. The slow hospital fever (the inevitable consequence of closeness, uncleanness, and dirt) prevails here."

Such is the description given of the arrangements of the hospital by a man who was far before his age in all that appertained to sanitary knowledge. No doubt that at the time when Howard made his visit, viz., 1786, matters had greatly degenerated. Discipline had become very lax, and, as one of the consequences, institutions like the Hospital had been neglected, and left to the sole charge of officials, many of whom were very sparing of their time and trouble. Still, with all its faults—and they were faults common to the time, and not peculiar to the institution—the Hospital of St. John was freely open to all who sought its shelter and the kindly ministration of its officials. Patients flocked to it from Italy, Sicily, and other countries

* A large number of the patients in the Hospital were galley slaves, and it was these only who were served on pewter.

the shores of which were washed by the Mediterranean. None who craved admission were ever turned from its doors; and although many of the arrangements were rough, and the sanitary appliances rude, still they were equal in efficiency to what was usual at that period. They must not be judged by the knowledge of the nineteenth century, but by that of a hundred years ago. Men lived in those times a harder life, and expected less in the way of comfort and luxury than now. They found in the Hospital of Malta certainly as much, and probably far more, care and attention than they would have received elsewhere. It consequently maintained to the last very high reputation, and reflected great credit on the fraternity.

CHAPTER XIV.

The chapter-general: its constitution and mode of procedure—The councils of the Order—Its punishments—Acts forbidden by the statutes—The question of duelling—Midnight disturbances—The question of chastity—Institution of slavery—Slave trade at Malta—Treatment of the Maltese by the Order—The bailiwick of Brandenburg.

It has been already mentioned that in the Order of St. John all legislative powers were exclusively vested in the chapter-general, whilst the executive functions were exercised by the Grand-Master in council. It will be well therefore to give some description of these various assemblies.

The chapter-general, the great parliament of the fraternity, was, during the earlier years of its existence, held regularly every five years, and in cases of emergency was often convened even between those periods. Gradually a longer time was allowed to elapse; the interval between the meetings became extended first to ten years, and later on still longer, until they were eventually almost entirely discontinued, one only having been held throughout the eighteenth century. Many reasons may be assigned for the abandonment of this ancient council. The great expense attending its convocation; the detriment to the interests of the community, necessarily arising from the calling away of so many of the provincial chiefs from the seats of their respective govern-

ments ; the turbulence which often characterized its sessions, and the difficulty which the Grand-Master generally experienced in carrying out his views and policy in an assembly where his influence predominated but slightly ; all these were causes tending to check their frequent convocation. In the absence of a chapter-general, the Grand-Master carried on the government with the intervention of a council only, and in this assembly he exercised far greater influence, and obtained a more complete subservience to his wishes than he could ever expect from the other.

The precedence of the various bailiffs of the Order in the chapter was carefully laid down. They were fifty-five in number, the senior being the bishop of Malta, and the junior the bailiff of St. Sebastian. Of the English dignitaries, the Turcopolier ranked eighth, the grand-prior of England twenty-second, the grand-prior of Ireland twenty-ninth, and the bailiff of the Eagle forty-fifth. Such of these fifty-five bailiffs as could not attend in person were bound to send proxies to act in their stead. All commanders had seats in the chapter, in order of seniority, below the above dignitaries, but if not present themselves did not furnish proxies. The time and place of meeting were fixed by the Grand-Master, subject to the approval of the Pope. After divine service, and the verification of proxies, each one took his seat in accordance with his precedence, and the chapter was declared open. In token of homage to its supreme authority, each member tendered as tribute a purse containing five pieces of silver. The marshal brought the grand standard of the Order, which he surrendered to the keeping of the chapter, and the other officials in succession delivered up the various symbols of their appointments.

The statutes thus laid down the order of procedure. The chapter was first to examine into the incidence and pressure of the various imposts decreed by previous chapters, and to make such alterations and revisions as the state of the revenue might render possible or advisable. It was afterwards to look strictly into the management of the treasury. The records were then to be passed in review, and such new laws enacted, and old ones abrogated, as might be thought necessary, after which the chapter could deal with any questions brought before it, that did not come under any of the preceding heads. The duration of the session was wisely limited to sixteen days. If at the conclusion of that time any business remained unsettled, it was disposed of by a council of reservation, elected by the chapter before dissolving. The chapter-general was the ultimate court of appeal from the decisions of the various councils, and in its absence that appeal lay with the court of Rome. The code of laws known as the statutes of the Order was the outcome of a succession of chapters, no additions, alterations, or omissions having been permitted by any authority short of that which had called it into existence. The duty of the Grand-Master consisted merely in enforcing obedience to the laws thus set down.

Provincial chapters were held in every grand-priory, presided over by the grand-prior or his lieutenant, at which all commanders attached thereto were bound to be present in person or by proxy. The local interests of the fraternity were discussed at these assemblies, and such matters there disposed of as did not concern the Order at large.

The councils of the Order in its *chef-lieu* were four in number; viz., the complete, the ordinary, the secret, and

the criminal, the latter being sometimes called the council of state. The complete council consisted of the Grand-Master, the bishop of Malta, the prior of the church, the eight conventual bailiffs or their lieutenants, any other grand-crosses who might at the time be present in the island, and, added to these, the two senior knights of justice of each *langue* who had been resident at Malta for at least eight years. Before the complete council were brought all appeals from the others, which were composed of grand-crosses only. In the ordinary council all nominations to vacant offices were made, all disputes arising therefrom decided, and the ordinary business connected with the government of the island transacted. This was the assembly usually employed by the Grand-Master. In it no topic could be introduced without his approval, and as all grand-crosses had a voice, he was able, by the creation of a batch of honorary bailiffs, to carry any measure in spite of opposition. The secret council took cognizance of such matters of internal and foreign policy as were not considered fit subjects for publicity; its proceedings were therefore strictly confidential. The criminal council adjudicated on all complaints lodged against members of the Order, and punished all offences against the statutes. The mention of this court naturally leads to an account of the crimes and punishments common amongst the fraternity.

The penalties to which a member of the Order was subject were as follow: The *Septaine* and the *Quarantaine*. These sentences obliged the offender to fast—the former for seven, the latter for forty days; on Wednesdays and Fridays the diet being restricted to bread and water. The statutes laid down that on these days he was to receive corporal discipline at the hands of a priest in the

conventual church during the recitation of the psalm *Deus misereatur nostri*; but this fell into disuse after the sixteenth century. If a more severe punishment were required, imprisonment was resorted to, no limit in duration being defined. Loss of seniority was also frequently inflicted; and if a still more severe punishment were necessary, the culprit was deprived of his habit, either for a time or in perpetuity, which latter was in fact equivalent to expulsion from the Order.

The sentence of death was not recognized in the code, but if a knight were guilty of a crime involving such a penalty, he was stripped of his habit and then handed over to the civil power to be treated like an ordinary criminal. The records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mention several instances of capital punishment thus inflicted on quondam members. The method usually employed for carrying out the last sentence of the law was borrowed from the Turks, the condemned man being sewn up in a sack and thrown alive into the Marsa Muscette. The application of torture was not forbidden by the statutes, and the records show that it was resorted to very frequently, no rank being so elevated as to save a prisoner from this cruel test.

The eighteenth division of the statutes was devoted to an enumeration of the various acts forbidden to the fraternity. No member was to devise by will more than the fifth part of his property. He was not to wander from his commandery, so as, in the words of the statute, "to make a vagabond of himself." No privateering expeditions were to be undertaken without sanction of the Grand-Master and council. No member was to appear in public without the distinctive dress of his Order. He was forbidden to create a disturbance in his *auberge*, or to

“break the doors, the windows, the chairs, or the tables
“or any articles of that nature, or to upset or disarrange
“them with reckless audacity.” “If any member shall
“insult another in the palace of the Grand-Master, he
“shall lose three years’ seniority; for an insult in an
“*auberge* he shall lose two years.”

The following are the crimes for which the statutes decreed loss of habit in perpetuity:—“Those convicted
“of being heretics, guilty of unnatural offences, assass-
“sins, or thieves; those who have joined the ranks of
“the infidel, amongst whom are to be classed those who
“surrender our standard or other ensign when unfurled
“before the enemy; also those who abandon their com-
“rades during the fight.”

The question of duelling was rather curiously dealt with. It was strictly forbidden by the statutes, and the severest penalties were attached to any infringement of the law. This was, however, in practice found so severe, and the difficulty of checking the evil so great in a fraternity full of young and hot-headed spirits, that some modification or evasion was absolutely necessary. It became therefore, gradually tacitly recognized that duels might be held in a place set apart for the purpose. There exists in the city of Valetta a street so narrow as to be called, *par excellence*, the “Strada Stretta,” and this was the spot marked out as a kind of neutral territory in which irascible cavaliers might expend their superfluous courage without incurring the penalties of the law. The fiction was that a combat in this street might be looked on as a casual encounter, the result of some jostling or collision brought about by the narrowness of the roadway. The Strada Stretta consequently became eventually the usual rendezvous for affairs of honour. The seconds

posted themselves one on either side at some little distance from their principals, and with drawn swords prevented any one approaching the scene till the conflict was over.

The regulations against midnight disturbances show that fast young men in the middle ages were as great a nuisance to their neighbours, and committed much the same class of follies, as in the present day. "Whoever shall enter into the house of a citizen without being invited, or who shall disturb the social gatherings of the people during their festivals, dances, weddings, or other similar occasions, shall lose two years of seniority; and if, either by day or by night, they do any damage to the doors or windows of the people, they shall suffer imprisonment. If they join in masquerades or ballets, they shall suffer loss of seniority. If any one shall stop up doors or windows with plaster, or shall stain them with dirt, or shall throw stones at them, he shall lose three years of seniority."

The question of chastity was one not easy to legislate for in an institution constituted like that of the Hospital. On the one hand, as a religious fraternity, it was impossible to cognize any infraction of the strictest laws of continence. The monk, in his cloistered retreat, mortifying all sensual appetites by fasts and vigils, was not supposed to be more free from earthly passions than the knight of St. John. We all know, however, how widely even the secluded inmates of the monasteries constantly strayed from the path of virtue; and it was not to be expected that the members of the military Orders, surrounded as they were with temptations, could have maintained themselves more free from vice. Even Raymond du Puy, in his original life, drawn up at a time when monastic austerity was at its height, dealt with the question somewhat tenderly.

He first of all strove to guard his members from the evil. "Whenever they may be in a house, or in church, or wherever else women may be present, let them mutually protect one another's chastity. Nor let women wash either their hands, or their feet, or make their beds. Afterwards he deals with the sin when committed, and it will be observed that punishment is awarded, not for the act, but for the being found out. "If any of the brethren shall have fallen by the force of his evil passions into any of the sins of the flesh, if he have sinned in secret, let him repent in secret; if, however, his sin shall have been discovered publicly, let him, in the same place where he may have committed the sin, on the Sabbath day, after mass, when the congregation shall have left the church, be stripped in the sight of all, and let him be scourged."

If such were the rules made in the first years of the Order's existence, when the monastic element greatly overpowered the secular, we may suppose that as time went on more and more latitude was allowed. Composed as the fraternity was of the youth of high and noble families, not secluded, like their predecessors of the days of du Puget from female society; taught to look upon military renown rather than ascetic piety, as the adornment of their profession, it was not to be expected that they could act up to the strict letter of the vow they had taken. The statutes of the later times do not therefore attempt to forbid a dereliction of chastity; they content themselves with checking all open display of immorality. Even as it was, these statutes were so ambiguously worded, and left so many loopholes for evasion, that it is not surprising they should gradually have become a dead letter. The presence of a large number of women of light character within the convent became a public scandal at a ve-

early period, and many Grand-Masters, even during the residence of the Order at Rhodes, sought by the most rigorous measures to mitigate the evil. Their efforts were, however, fruitless, and as the fraternity lost more and more of the religious enthusiasm which had stimulated its first members, so did the dissolute conduct of the knights become more outrageously opposed to the principles of their profession. After the successful termination of the defence of Malta had left the brethren in undisputed sovereignty of that island, and had raised their military renown to the highest pitch, they appear to have become intoxicated with the admiration they had excited throughout Europe, and throwing off all restraint, to have abandoned themselves to the most reckless debauchery. This period may be noted as the worst and most openly immoral epoch in the history of the fraternity. The evil, to a certain extent, brought with it its own remedy, and after awhile the knights themselves became scandalized at the notoriety of their licentiousness. Still, the morality at Malta remained at a very low ebb, and up to the latest date of the Order's residence there its society abounded with scandalous tales and sullied reputations. The vice prevalent in the island was probably no more than that of any other locality where the bulk of the population was young and not permitted to marry. The error lay in supposing that a vow of chastity, rendered compulsory on all seeking admission, could by any possibility act as a check upon the natural depravity of youth, unrestrained as it was in any other manner.

The institution of slavery flourished in the Order from the earliest days of its existence. During the residence of the knights in Palestine it was their invariable rule, in accordance with the usages of eastern warfare, to reduce

to a state of slavery all prisoners taken in action. After their establishment in the island of Rhodes, the knights continued to enforce the penalty which long custom had legalized in their eyes. Both in that island, and afterwards at Malta, their galleys were invariably propelled by gangs of Turkish captives, who were driven to constant labour by the dread of punishment. A gangway ran along the centre of the vessel, on which paced an official armed with a cruel whip, which he mercilessly applied to the back of any one of the unfortunate victims who, as he thought, was not putting forth his full strength. During the cruise the slave was never released from his seat at the oar, but as several men were attached to each they took it in turn to obtain what rest and repose was possible under such miserable conditions. When not required on board the galleys, they were housed in a prison on shore, established for the purpose. They were at such times either employed in the dockyard or on the fortifications. No one can have examined the stupendous defence of Rhodes or of Malta without perceiving that such works could only have been carried out under conditions of labour very different from those of the present day. The extraordinary width and depth of the ditches, so far beyond what seems actually necessary for purposes of defence, show that in their construction labour was an almost worthless commodity.

There can be no doubt that great cruelty was often practised against these unfortunate captives, the treatment which they received at the hands of their Christian masters being, as a rule, disgracefully barbarous. Their lives were held as of no value, and the records teem with accounts of the very thoughtless and cruel manner in which they were sacrificed to the whims and caprice

f those who held control over their lives and persons. During the first siege of Rhodes, a gang of these miserable beings was returning from the perilous labour of repairing the breaches made in the ramparts by the enemy's artillery, when a party of young knights chanced to meet them, and began to amuse themselves at their expense. A slight scuffle ensued, the wretched slaves endeavouring to shield themselves from their tormentors. The noise thus caused attracted the attention of the patrol, who, without pausing for a moment to ascertain the reason for the disturbance, fell upon the slaves, and slew a large number of the defenceless creatures. So, also, we find it recorded in the siege of Malta, that some hesitation having been shown by the slaves in exposing themselves during their pioneering labours to a fire more deadly than usual, the Grand-Master directed some to be hanged, and others to have their ears cut off. Again, in the year 1534, an English knight named Massingberd was brought before the council for having without cause drawn his sword and killed four galley slaves. When called on for his defence, this turbulent Briton replied, "In killing the four slaves I did well, but in not having at the same time killed our old and imbecile Grand-Master I confess I did badly." The Grand-Master referred to was Peter du Pont, and for this insolence towards him, Massingberd was deprived of his commandery and stripped of his habit for two days. For the murder of the slaves he apparently received no punishment.

By degrees, a system sprang up of not simply retaining the slaves for the service of the Order, but also of selling them. The truth was that eventually the convent of St. John became a vast slave mart. The evil began at Rhodes, but did not receive its full development until

after the establishment of the knights at Malta. There the miserable trade flourished without a check. When the demand was brisk and the supply scarce, the galley of Malta scoured the seas, and woe betide the unfortunate Moslem who fell into their clutches. The war which was unceasingly waged against the Ottoman maritime power was not maintained solely from religious conviction, or even from political necessity. The knights found other attractions in the strife, as they thereby swelled both their own fortunes and the coffers of their Order. Honour there was none; religion there was none; it had degenerated into a mercenary speculation, of which the only excuse was that it was an act of reprisal. The northern coast of Africa was one vast nest of pirates, who scoured every corner of the Mediterranean, and whose detested flag brought with it the horrors of bloodshed, rapine, and slavery. With such a foe as this it was but natural that there should be scant courtesy shown.

There exists in the Record Office of Malta a letter from Charles II. of England to the Grand-Master Nicholas Cottoner, which proves the traffic in human flesh then carried on. In this letter, after recording that he had sent an agent to Malta to buy slaves, the king continues:—"He having purchased some slaves, it has been reported to us that your Highness's collector of customs demanded five pieces of gold before they could be permitted to embark, under the title of toll, at which proceeding we were certainly not a little astonished, since it is well known to us that our neighbours and allies, the kings of France and Spain, are never accustomed to pay anything under the title of toll for the slaves whom they cause annually to be transported from your island." From this extract it is clear that the deportation of slaves for

he use of the kings of France and Spain was of annual occurrence, and that the merry monarch of England craved to be admitted to equal privileges in the traffic.

The numerous gangs of slaves who were awaiting the requirements of the potentates of Europe were in the meantime amply repaying the slender cost of their maintenance by toiling at the fortifications. Those ramparts have been reared by the drudgery, and amidst the anguish of countless thousands, who, torn from their homes and their country, were condemned to drag out the remainder of their miserable lives as mere beasts of burden.

Before the islands of Malta and Gozo fell into the possession of the Order, they had been attached to the viceroyalty of Sicily. Their local government had consisted of a *hakem*, or chief, under whom were certain officials, who formed his council, nominated by the viceroy from a list submitted to him by a local assembly. When the rule of the Order superseded that of the emperor, the leading features of the former administration were retained. The assembly, it is true, soon became a dead letter, and the appointment of the officials was made direct by the Grand-Master in council; still, the selection was invariably from among the Maltese, and their ancient customs and privileges were as little interfered with as possible. A broad line of demarcation was, however, from the first drawn between the knights and the upper class of the population. The Maltese had always been a highly aristocratic community, and the whole power of the government had been vested in the hands of the nobility. No more exclusive or oligarchical body existed in Europe, and traces of this state of things may still be perceived. The Order of St. John, aristocratic though it was in its own constitution, appears in its connection with Malta t

have been actuated by more liberal views than its predecessors. The Grand-Master and council no sooner assumed the reins of government than they materially extended the area from which they selected their native officials. The natural result of this policy was a certain coldness and alienation on the part of the old nobility, and this, coupled with the natural reserve of the Maltese character, prevented any real amalgamation between them.

The Maltese were not admitted as such into the ranks of the knights of justice: those of them who were eligible could, it is true, be received as members of the *langue* of Italy, but the number who availed themselves of this privilege was very small. The Order was consequently regarded as a foreign body, and but little friendship or cordiality prevailed in their intercourse with it. It must not be inferred from this that the Maltese, even of the upper class, were dissatisfied with the rule of the knights. That rule was certainly a despotism, and one of the strongest kind; still, it was well suited to the habits of the people, and usually maintained with equity and moderation. The knights placed themselves on a decided eminence over those they governed, and when the interests of the two parties clashed, it was but natural that the Maltese, as the weaker, should have to give way. Still, on the whole, they had not much cause for complaint, and there can be no doubt that the transfer of the island to the Order of St. John had brought many very solid advantages to all classes of the inhabitants.

After all, it was only with the highest class, the exclusive Maltese nobility, that the new government was in any degree unpopular; and even then it was not so much the despotism of the ruling power as the liberalism which had opened the way to office for a lower grade than its own.

which had engendered the dislike. Below it was a rising body containing much of the talent and ambition of the island, amongst whom the council sought for candidates to fill the posts hitherto monopolized by the nobility. With them, therefore, the Order stood in high favour, and whilst on the one hand the old aristocracy held itself aloof, and on the other the lower class bowed in uncomplaining submission to the sway of a power sufficiently energetic to compel its obedience, this section became faithful adherents to a system by which their own emancipation from the dictation of the aristocracy had been secured.

Into this portion of Maltese society the knights of St. John found a ready admission. Even here, however, there were distinctions drawn between the *langues*, some of which were far more popular than others. The French did not find much favour with the ladies who swayed the empire of fashion within this coterie. They were too arrogant, self-sufficient, and boastful to be received as chosen favourites. More than one case had occurred in which this braggart tendency on the part of Frenchmen, ever ready to suppose their attractions irresistible, had led to unpleasant results, and had clouded the fair fame of ladies, whose only fault had perchance consisted in permitting rather too free an offering of adulation on the part of their knightly admirers. Whilst the French were thus neglected, there were other *langues*, the members of which were more fortunate. The Germans in particular seem to have borne the palm of popularity. Their natural reserve prevented them from falling into the errors of their more vivacious *confrères*, and they were generally admitted to a footing of intimacy which the latter were never able to attain. The Spaniards were also great favourites, and unless the tales recorded on this

point are false, they were most successful in their intercourse with the ladies of the island.

With the lower class the rule of the knights was fairly popular. The works of fortification yielded a constant source of employment, whilst the ample stores of food retained in the magazines secured them from the miseries of famine, which in olden times had been so frequently the scourge of the island. The Grand-Master also sought to ingratiate himself by constantly providing them with amusements. Their privileges in this respect were numerous, and even at the present time, nearly a century after the departure of the Order, traces thereof remain in the numerous *festas* held on every conceivable occasion in all the towns and *casals*. The expenditure for these *festas*, principally caused by the elaborate illuminations which invariably form their greatest attraction, is now defrayed by collections and offerings from the public of the neighbourhood. In the time of the knights the money was provided from the public treasury.

There yet remains to describe a curious offshoot of the fraternity, which, although it seceded from the parent stem at an early date, always kept up a connection with it, and exists and flourishes at the present time. This is the Bailiwick of Brandenburg.

The first establishment of the Order of St. John in that part of Germany seems to have dated from the year 1160 when the Margrave Albert the Bear returned thither from Palestine. Its possessions at this time, which were inconsiderable, were situated between the Elbe and the Weser. They were superintended by a vice-preceptor, under the grand-prior of Germany. On the suppression of the Templars, their German possessions were transferred to the Order of St. John, thus greatly increasing its property.

in Saxony, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg. The knights in those districts soon became restless at the subordinate position they occupied in the grand-priorate, and sought to establish their independence. After a long struggle, in which they were warmly supported by the Margraves of Brandenburg, they definitely seceded, and erected themselves into a bailiwick under the title of Brandenburg. For many years they were treated by the Order as rebels, as they refused to pay responsions, or to be under any control. The schism continued till the year 1382, when a reconciliation was effected. It was then decreed that the knights of the bailiwick should elect their own bailiff, subject to the confirmation of the grand-prior of Germany, and that they should pay as responsions the annual sum of 2,400 gold florins. Matters remained on this footing until the Reformation, when the members of the bailiwick, having embraced the Protestant faith, once more seceded, and placed themselves under the protection of the Margrave of Brandenburg. Many attempts were subsequently made to bring about a new reconciliation, but for a long time without effect. At last, Frederick the Great, wishing to aid his brother Ferdinand, who was then bailiff of Brandenburg, succeeded in effecting a reunion in 1763. It was agreed that the ancient connection between the Order and the Lutheran knights should be renewed, and that the latter should once more pay responsions. From that time the knights of Brandenburg were treated as *confrères* by the Order.

During the French Revolution the bailiwick of Brandenburg underwent the same fate as the other branches of the fraternity. By a ~~decree~~ dated 23rd May, 1812, its extinction was decreed and its property sequestrated to the kingdom of Prussia. The king, at the same time,

founded a new and royal Order of the knights of St. John, with himself as its protector, and the old bailiff as its Grand-Master. Into this Order he received all the surviving knights of the suppressed bailiwick. The Royal Prussian Order of St. John continued in this form until the year 1852, when King Frederick William IV. by mandate restored the original bailiwick, bestowing on it corporate rights, and regulating its internal constitution by statutes. On the 13th February, 1853, the king, as patron of the institution, nominated the eight oldest surviving knights as commanders. These then assembled for the election of a *Herren Meister*, two candidates having been named by the king, between whom the selection was to be made. The choice fell unanimously on Prince Charles of Prussia, and his nomination was confirmed by the king.

The reception of the prince by the Order, and his installation as *Herren Meister*, took place in the presence of the sovereign in the royal chapel of Charlottenburg. The old custom of informing the grand-prior of Germany could not be carried out, owing to the suppression of that dignity, but notice was sent to Count Colloredo, the lieutenant of the Grand-Master, of the restoration of the bailiwick, and the election of the *Herren Meister*. Since then, correspondence has always been maintained between the bailiwick and the authorities of the Order at Rome. This revived branch has now become well known throughout Europe under the name of the "Johanniter." It has performed noble service on the lines of the parent institution, by rendering aid to the sick and wounded in the German campaigns of 1866 and 1870, and it took an active part in carrying out the resolutions of the Vienna Convention.

CHAPTER XV.

THE “LANGUE” OF ENGLAND.

Foundation at Clerkenwell—Introduction of the fraternity into Scotland and Ireland—Destruction of priory by Wat Tyler—Restoration by Docwra—St. John's Gate—Lease of Hampton to Wolsey—Suppression of the *langue* by Henry VIII.—Revival by Queen Mary—Final suppression by Elizabeth—Subsequent fate of the Priory, Church, and Gate—Revival of the *langue*—Its objects and present state.

THE first establishment of the Order of St. John in England was that founded at Clerkenwell by Lord Jordan Briset, at the commencement of the twelfth century. No record has been preserved of the erection of the first buildings, but in the Register of deeds and titles to the possessions of the Order in England, dated in 1443, the dedication of the priory church by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, is entered as having taken place in 1185.

Clerkenwell was then at a short distance from London, and was quite suburban. Fitz Stephen in his “Description of the most noble City of London,” written in the time of Henry II., speaks of it as having “fields for pasture, and a delightful plain of meadow land interspersed with flowing streams, on which stand mills whose clack is very pleasing to the ear.” Two of these mills belonged

to the Order. Fitz Stephen refers also to the *fons clericorum*, or clerks' well, as one "frequently visited, as well " by the scholars from the schools as by the youth of the city " when they go out to take air in the summer evenings." Its name arose from the fact that the parish clerks of London were in the habit of acting miracle plays there.

The Sisters of the Order were established at Bucklands in Somersetshire. William de Erlegh had founded at Bokeland a house of "regular canons," which was suppressed by Henry II. on account of their turbulence, the canons having, amongst other offences, murdered one of his officials. In 1180, the king granted the forfeited lands to the Order of St. John on condition that the knights should there assemble all the ladies attached to the fraternity. Philip de Thame, in his report (alluded to in Chap. IV.), states that the institution at Bucklands was at that time a house for fifty sisters. The establishment was suppressed by Henry VIII., and its lands granted to the earl of Essex and James Rockby.

The first introduction of the fraternity into Scotland was due to King David I., who, shortly after his accession in 1124, established a preceptory at Torpichen in Linlithgowshire, which continued to be the *chef-lieu* of the knights in Scotland until their suppression in the sixteenth century. In the year 1153, just before his death, he confirmed by a royal charter the possessions, privileges, and exemptions with which the brethren had become endowed in Scotland. His successor, Malcolm IV., increased their privileges and incorporated their possessions into a barony freed from most of the imposts levied on the laity. William the Lion also followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, and made several additions to the munificent foundation they had established.

The Order was first introduced into Ireland through the liberality of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke, who, almost immediately after the conquest of that country by the English, endowed it with a priory at Kilmainham, near Dublin, which in after years became the seat of the grand-priory of Ireland. This donation was made in the year 1174. Its property in Ireland increased gradually in extent, and at the time of the suppression of the *langue* in 1546 consisted of twenty-one commanderies. There are no records of the value of these estates, many of which originally belonged to the Templars, and had been transferred to the Hospital on the suppression of that fraternity.

The priory of Clerkenwell meanwhile grew apace. Many additions were made in the time of Edward I. Between the years 1274 and 1280, Joseph de Chauncy, the grand-prior, built a chapel "for the use of the lord-priors in their house," and William de Henley, who was made prior in 1280, erected a cloister. The buildings went on developing in extent and grandeur until the insurrection of Wat Tyler in 1381, when the priory was destroyed by fire. Grafton in his chronicle, says:—"They went streight to the goodly hospital of Rhodes called St. John's, beyond Smythfield, and spoyled that and then consumed it with fyre, causing the same to burne for the space of seven days after." At this time the building, in its widely varied decorations, both internally and externally, is said to have contained specimens of the arts both of Europe and Asia, together with a collection of books and rarities, the loss of which in a less turbulent age would have been a theme for national lamentation. The grand-prior himself, Sir Robert Hales, was beheaded by the mob.

The magnificent pile thus ruthlessly destroyed had witnessed many a gay pageant and sumptuous enter-

tainment, and the great hall of the priory was several times used for royal councils. On these occasions, the grand-prior of England occupied a position between the spiritual peers and the barons. One of the earliest of these councils was held in 1185. The king of Jerusalem had sent the Grand-Masters of the Temple and Hospital, with the patriarch Heraclius, to Europe to solicit a new crusade. The Templar had died on the way, but the Hospitaller, Roger des Moulins, and the patriarch came to England. The king went as far as Reading to meet them, and conducted them to the priory at Clerkenwell, where he summoned the barons of the realm to hold a council. Speed thus describes in his chronicles what took place:—"At this meeting he (the king) declared "that Heraclius had stirred compassion and tears at the "rehearsal of the tragical afflictions of the eastern world, "and had brought the keys of the places of Christ's "nativity, passion, and resurrection, of David's tower, "and the Holy Sepulchre, and the humble offer of the "kingdom of Jerusalem with the standard of the king- "dom, as duly belonging to him as grandson of Fulk of "Anjou." The barons in council determined that the king should not join the crusade, but should content himself with a donation. Heraclius thereon lost his temper, broke out into abuse of the king, and wound up by saying, "Here is my head; treat me if you like as you did my brother Thomas" (meaning à Becket). The Master of the Hospital was greatly hurt at the insolence of the patriarch, but the king passed it by without notice.

In the year 1212 King John stayed at the priory during the whole month of March, and whilst there knighted Alexander, son of the king of Scotland. In 1237

Matthew Paris records :—"The Hospitallers sent their prior Theodoric, a German by birth, and a most clever knight, with a body of other knights and stipendiary attendants, and a large sum of money, to the assistance of the Holy Land. They, having made all arrangements, set out from their house at Clerkenwell, and proceeded in good order, with about thirty shields uncovered, with spears raised, and preceded by their banner, through the midst of the city towards the bridge, that they might obtain the blessings of the spectators, and bowing their heads, with their cowls lowered, commended themselves to the prayers of all." In 1265, Prince Edward and his wife Eleonora of Castile were entertained at the priory.

In 1399, only eighteen years after the destruction of the buildings by Wat Tyler and his mob, we find that Henry duke of Lancaster, on the eve of his accession to the throne as Henry IV., was entertained at the priory for a fortnight. Of this fact there are two records: one, the Duke entered London by the chiefe gate, and rode through the Cheape to St. Paule's, where he was after lodged in the bishop's palace five or six days, and after at St. John's without Smithfield, where he remained fifteen days right willingly." The other record is metrical, and in French—

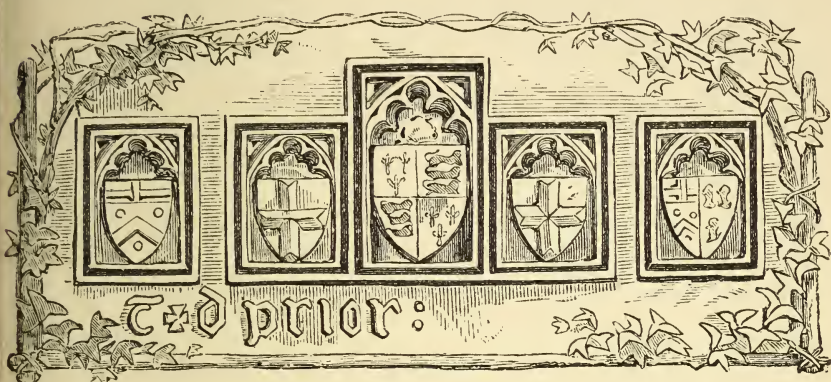
“Quant le Duc Henri arrive
 Fu à Londres nouvellement,
 A Saint Pol alla droitement
 Et puis à Saint Jehan apres
 Que est hors des murs assez près
 C'est un hospital des Templiers,
 La fu le Duc moult voulntiers
 Quinze jours tous plains sans partir.”

It is evident from these entries that a portion of the grand pile had already been restored; enough, at all events, to admit of princely hospitality being exercised. In 1411, Henry V. resided at the priory for some time, according to the "Grey Friars' Chronicle" of London, which records that "the kynge was lyvinge at Sent Jone's." In 1485, Richard III. held a royal council in the great hall of the priory for the purpose of disavowing all intention of marrying his niece Elizabeth of York, a rumour of which had become prevalent.

These later entries all show that the grand-priory had been largely restored since the calamity of 1381. It remained, however, for Sir Thomas Docwra to complete the work, and in addition to erect the gate, now almost the only part of the structure remaining. Camden, speaking of the priory in Docwra's time, says that "it resembled a palace, and had in it a very faire church and a tower steeple raised to a great height, with so fine workmanship that it was a singular beauty and ornament to the city."

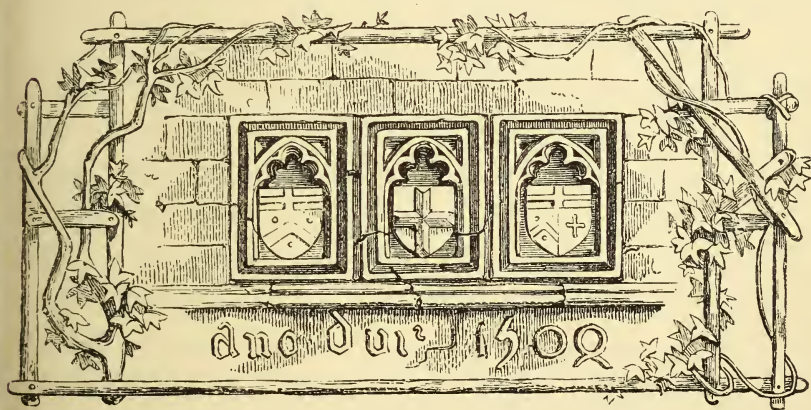
St. John's-gate, above referred to, still remains a monument of the grandeur of the fraternity before its suppression by Henry VIII. Its architecture is perpendicular, with obtusely pointed windows, Tudor doorways and battlemented parapets. It is built of freestone and brick. The south front, with its double projecting towers is very imposing even now, when the accumulation of soil has lowered its apparent height. Beneath its central window are five shields in Gothic niches: that in the centre bears the arms of France and England surmounted with a crown, on either side of which are two other shields those on the left bearing the cross of the Order and the arms of Docwra respectively; those on the right bearing

he cross of the Order and the arms of Docwra impaling those of England. Underneath are the letters T D,



ARMS ON THE SOUTH FRONT ST. JOHN'S GATE, CLERKENWELL.

separated by the cross of the Order followed by the word PRIOR. On the north side of the gate are also three shields, that in the centre bearing the cross of the Order, that on the left the arms of Docwra with cross in chief,



ARMS ON THE NORTH FRONT ST. JOHN'S GATE, CLERKENWELL.

the one on the right the same arms impaling a cross moline. Beneath are the words "ano dni. 1504."

Whilst referring to Docwra, allusion may be made to a lease granted by him to Cardinal Wolsey. In the year

1211, Joan Lady Grey left to the Order by her will the manor of Hampton containing about 1,000 acres and a house. This Docwra leased to Wolsey for a term of ninety-nine years, at a rental of £50, from January 12th, 1514. Wolsey, on entering into possession, pulled down the manor-house, and built the palace of Hampton Court in its place.

It has already been recorded that in the year 1539 the priory of Clerkenwell was suppressed, and the estates of the Order in England confiscated to the crown. In the statute 32 Henry VIII., c. 24, it is enacted that “the Kinge’s Majestie, his heirs and successors, shall have and enjoye all that Hospitall, Mansion-house, Church, and all other houses, edifices, buyldinges, and gardienes of the same belonging, being nere unto the citie of London, in the Countie of Midd., called the house of St. John of Jerlm. in England.” The reason given for this confiscation was, that they had “Unnaturally, and contrarie to the duety of their allegaunces, sustayned and maynteynid the usurped powere and auctoritie of the Bishop of Rome, and have adhered themselves to the said Bishop, being comon enemy to the King our souvraine Lord and to his realme, untruely upholding, knowleging, and affirmyng maliciously and traiterously the same Bishop to be supreme hed of Christe’s Church by Godd’s holy wourde.” The members of the *langue* were forbidden to wear the dress of the Order, or to assume any of its titles or dignities, as to which it is said, “they shall be callid by their awne propre chren. names and surnames of their parentis, without any other additions touching the said religion.” The following pensions were awarded out of the confiscated property :—To the grand-prior, Sir William Weston, £1,000 ; Clement West, £200 ; T. Pemberton,

£80; G. Russel, £100; G. Ailmer, £100; J. Sutton, £200; E. Belingam, £100; E. Browne, £50; E. Huse, 100 marks; Ambrose Cave, 100 marks; W. Tirel, £30; J. Rawson, 200 marks; to A. Rogers, Oswald Massingberd, and eight others, £10 each—the whole amounting to £2,870.

The greater number of the knights retired to Malta; but of those who remained, several were executed. Sir Thomas Dingley, Sir Marmaduke Bowes, and Sir Adrian Fortescue were attainted together of high treason for denying the king's supremacy on the 29th April, 1539, and were all beheaded. Sir David Genson for the same reason was condemned to death, and, having been drawn on a sledge through Southwark, was hanged and quartered at St. Thomas Watering on the 1st July, 1541. The Sir Adrian Fortescue here alluded to was the second son of Sir John Fortescue; his mother was aunt to Queen Anne Boleyn. He had been created by Henry VIII. a knight of the Bath for his services in the French wars, and was summoned to attend that king at the Field of the Cloth of gold, when he was directed "not only to put 'yourself in arreadiness with the number of ten tall 'personages well and conveniently apparelled for this 'purpose to pass with you over the sea, but also in such 'wise to appoint yourself in apparel as to your degree, the 'honour of us, and this our realm appertaineth." He was committed "to the Knight Marshall's ward at Woodstock," in 1534, for denying the king's supremacy, and released under the general pardon late in the autumn of the same year. He was again attainted in the spring of 1539. Hull has the following entry in his chronicle on the subject:—"Sir Adrian Foskeu and Sir Thomas Dingley, 'knights of St. John, were on the 10th day of July

“beheaded.” There are two pictures of him in the church of St. John, Valetta, and a third in the Collegio di San Paulo at Rabato, Malta. The two first are by Mathias Preti, called “Il Calabrese,” a knight who flourished in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Sir Adrian Fortescue has always been revered as a martyr in the island.

The pension so liberally bestowed on Sir William Weston, the late grand-prior, out of the funds of his own priory, was not long enjoyed. Unable to bear up against the calamities which had befallen his Order, he died of grief on Ascension day, 1540, in the very year when his pension was granted. He was buried in the chancel of St. James’s church, Clerkenwell, where an altar tomb in the architectural style of the age, representing him as an emaciated figure lying upon a winding-sheet, was erected over his remains. Weever has thus described this memorial, now utterly destroyed :—“ In the north walle of the chancell is “ a faire marble tombe with the portraiture of a dead man “ lying upon his shroud, the most artificially cut in stone “ that ever man beheld. All the plates of brass are stolne “ away, only some few peeses remaining containing these “ words :—

“ *Hospitalitate inclytus genere præclarus.*”

(Here are arms.)

“ *Hanc urna officii causa.*”

In the centre on another plate was—

“ *Spes me non fallat quam in te semper habebam,
Virgo da facilem votis natum.*”

And on another—

“ *Ecce quem cernis semper tuo nomini devotum
Suspice in sinum Virgo Maria tuum.*”

In 1788, when the old church of St. James was pulled

lown, this monument was taken away. "During the removal," says a contemporary writer, "the lead coffin 'was discovered, which was deposited within a few inches 'of the surface. On the breast part was a cross raised in 'lead. On raising the cover the skeleton appeared, but 'without any appearance of its having been wrapped in 'cercloth or habit of his Order; nor did it seem at first 'that ever any embalmment had been used, but on more 'careful inspection there was found a quantity of dark- 'coloured mucilaginous substance between the thighs and 'the lower parts of the body, of an unctuous feel, but 'quite inodorous. The bones were laid in the same order 'as when the corpse was deposited in the lead coffin, 'which did not appear had ever been enclosed in one of 'wood. The fingers and toes were fallen off, but the 'upper parts retained their proper situation, and some 'teeth remained in each jaw. On measuring the skeleton 'it was exactly six feet in length, wanting one inch." When the monument was removed the effigy was left, and for many years stood upright in a corner of the vault below the church. It has recently been restored by a collateral descendant of the grand-prior, Colonel Gould Hunter Weston, himself a knight of the revived *langue*. It now lies once more in its original recumbent position on a suitable base in the north side of the church.

Sir William Weston had been present at the siege of Rhodes in 1522, where he greatly distinguished himself in command of the English quarter. He was elected Turcopolier in place of Sir John Buck, killed in the siege.

The suppression of the *langue* in Scotland was effected in the following manner. Shortly after Henry VIII. had crushed the English branch, James Sandilands was

appointed prior of Scotland, preceptor of Torpichen, and Lord of St. John, by a decree of the Grand-Master D'Omedes, dated on the 2nd April, 1547. He became the intimate friend of John Knox, and, by the persuasion of that reformer, renounced the Catholic faith in 1553. He, however, continued for some time longer to maintain his office and dignities. In 1560 he was sent by the congregational parliament of Scotland to France, to lay its proceedings before Francis and Mary. There the cardinal of Lorraine loaded him with reproaches, accusing him of violating his obligations as a knight of a Holy Order. Notwithstanding all his efforts to soothe the prelate, and the most assiduous endeavours to recommend himself to the queen, he was dismissed without any answer. After this, feeling himself no longer authorized to retain his office, he resigned the entire property of the Order of St. John in Scotland into the hands of the crown. Upon this, the queen, on the 24th January, 1563-4, was pleased, on condition of an immediate payment of 10,000 crowns and an annual duty of 500 marks, and in consideration of "his faithful, noble, and gratuitous services to herself and to her royal parents," to convert it into the temporal barony of Torpichen, creating him Lord of St. John and Torpichen. At his death his title and the possessions which he had plundered from the Order devolved on his grand-nephew, James Sandilands of Calder, and have remained in that line to the present day.

David Seton is said to have been the last prior of Scotland, and to have retired to Germany with the greater portion of his brethren about 1572. In an old poem of that period he is mentioned as the head of the Scottish Hospitallers. The poem is entitled "The Holy Kirke and his Theeves." After apostrophizing Sir James

landilands for his treachery to the Order, it proceeds thus :

“ Fye upon the traitor then
 Quha has broucht us to sic pass,
 Greedie als the knave Judas ;
 Fye upon the churle quwhat solde
 Halie Erthe for heavie golde.
 But the Order felt na losse,
 Quhan David Setonne bare the Crosse.”

David Seton is said to have died about 1591, and to have been buried in the church of the Scottish Benedictines at Ratisbon. He was of the noble house of Wintoun.

The grand-priory of Ireland was held by John Rawson at the time of its suppression by Henry VIII. On his death in 1547, Oswald Massingberd was appointed to the office by the Grand-Master D'Omedes, on condition that he should not assume the title till legally in possession of the priory. This having been confirmed to him by Queen Mary, he was allowed by a second decree from the Grand-Master to take up the title and dignity. He afterwards resigned the priory into the hands of commissioners appointed by Queen Elizabeth on the 3rd of June, 1558.

A few years after the formal suppression of the English *lingue*, Henry VIII. granted to John Dudley, Lord Viscount Lisle and Lord High Admiral of England, the site, circuit, and precinct of this hospital or priory of St. John, Clerkenwell; only the lead, bells, timber, stone, glass, iron, and other things of the church were specially reserved for the king's majesty.” Now records that “ the church, priory, and house of St. John were preserved from spoil or pulling down as long as Henry VIII. reigned, and were employed

“as a storehouse for the king’s toils and tents for hunting
“and for the wars.” Edward VI. granted to his sister the
princess Mary, by letters patent in the year 1548, the
“scite, circuit, ambit, precinct, capital messuage, and house
“late the priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell.”
In the following year, viz., 1549, the greater portion of
the church of St. John was blown up, and the material
used in the erection of Somerset House. On the accession
of Queen Mary the prospects of the suspended *langue*
seemed once more to revive. By royal letters patent, dated
April 2nd, 1557, the bailiffs, commanders, and knights of
St. John were once more incorporated by and under the
name and title of the “Prior and Cobrethren of the
“Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England,” giving
them as a corporation a common seal, and ordaining for
the crown, its heirs and successors, that the knights of the
Order in England should for ever have and enjoy their
name, style, and dignity, with all their ancient privilege
and prerogatives. Sir Thomas Tresham of Rushton was
appointed grand-prior of St. John Anglice.

When Somerset destroyed the church of St. John, he
left only the chancel standing, and to this, when Mary
revived the *langue*, Cardinal Pole effected such repairs as
were necessary to render the building once more available
for services. The death of the queen ended all hope of
a permanent revival, as one of the earliest acts of her suc-
cessor annexed to the crown all the property of the Order
in England, without, however, decreeing the dissolution
of the corporate body established by the charter of Mary.
The old priory now fell to the basest uses, and became
the head-quarters of the Master of the Revels to the
queen. The office of this functionary consisted, according
to Edmund Tylney, “of a Wardropp and other Roomes

for Artificers to work in, viz., Taylors, Imbrotherers, Propertimakers, Paynters, Wyredrawers, and Carpenters, together with a convenient place for ye Rehearsalls" doubtless the great hall that had been the scene of so many splendours) "and settinge forth of Playes and other Showes for those services."

By letters patent, dated May 9th, 1607, "the scite or house of the late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, &c., having therein one great mansion and one great chapel, &c., containing, by estimation, five acres," was granted by James I. to Ralph Freeman. It subsequently came into the possession of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh and Earl of Exeter, whose countess, says Fuller, "was very forward to repair the ruined choir." The church then became a private chapel, and as such passed into the hands of the Earl of Elgin on his marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Exeter. Fuller thus describes it in 1655: "At this day, though contracted, having the side aisles excluded (yet so that the upper part is admitted, affording conveniences for attention), it is one of the best private chapels in England, discreetly embracing the mean of decency betwixt the extremes of slovenly profaneness and gaudy superstition." It was much injured in 1710 by a mob led on by Dr. Sacheverell. In 1716 it was advertised for sale, "as fit as any for a schoolroom, that will hold above 200 scholars." It was purchased in 1721 by a Mr. Mitchell, who once more restored it, and then sold it for £3,000 to the commissioners for providing new churches in and about London. It was consecrated on December 27th, 1723, as the church of St. John, Clerkenwell. There is a fine crypt beneath, which is much in the same condition as when abandoned by the Order. It is a very handsome

Gothic structure, and originally seems to have been above ground. In Hollar's view of it as it appeared in 1661 the entrance is shown from St. John-street up some steps. It contains a central and two side aisles. This crypt was the scene of the celebrated Cock-lane ghost excitement in the year 1763. It is supposed by competent authorities that the original church of St. John was about 300 feet long, extending westward over the area of the present St. John's-square, and that its transepts stood in a direct line between the great south gate and the north gate or postern.

The priory itself has long since vanished to make way for the modern buildings which now occupy the space. The enclosure walls can still be traced on the north, south-east, and west sides, and the houses in St. John's-square are mostly built on the rubble walls of the Hospital. The northern boundary comprised the north postern in its centre, and the priory buildings and walls extending westward towards Red Lion-street, and eastward towards St. John-street. The south boundary had St. John's-gate in the centre. Of the eastern boundary Hollar has given a view as it appeared in 1661. It shows the east end of St. John's Church, with the Hospital gardens and boundary wall, all of which faced St. John-street. Of the western boundary there are remains in Ledbury-place. The whole enclosed about five acres.

It now only remains to trace the tenure and occupation of St. John's-gate. Like the priory, it was used in connection with the office of the queen's revels so long as that was maintained at Clerkenwell. It then fell into private hands, Sir Morrice Dennys and Sir Roger Wilbraham having each been its possessor. In 1731 it became the property of Edward Cave, who lived there,

nd set up a printing establishment in a portion of the place. It was here that the "Gentleman's Magazine" was for many years published. The gate was, whilst in Cave's hands, the scene of the memorable incident when Dr. Johnson dined behind a screen at an entertainment given by Cave, because he was so shabbily dressed that he did not wish to join the company. It continued to be a printing establishment till the end of the last century, when it became a public-house. Fortunately, the landlord, Mr. Benjamin Foster, was a man who appreciated the historical associations of the place. During his tenure he established literary and archæological meetings, and thereby raised its status beyond that of a mere tavern. It has of late years recovered its original position, having been purchased for the members of the revived English *langue*, and by them fitted up once more as a chancery and domicile for the Order.

This fact leads naturally to a detail of the circumstances which have led to the revival of that *langue*, although it is anticipating the general course of the narrative to touch on it now. As it satisfactorily closes the sketch of the *langue*, it is thought better to deal with it in this place rather than to insert it in its proper chronological order.

The fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 removed the ban under which the French knights had lain since their suppression by the republican government in 1792. They at once reassembled in chapter-general at Paris, and forming as they did the most powerful branch of the Order then surviving, elected a permanent capitular commission, in which was vested plenary power to act as might seem best for the general interests of the fraternity. The creation of this capitular commission was confirmed by a pontifical bull issued by

Pope Pius VII. on the 10th August, 1814, and recognized by the lieutenant of the Mastery and sacred council at Catania, in an instrument, dated the 9th October, addressed to the bailiff Camille, Prince de Rohan, prior of Aquitaine the bailiff de Clugny, the commander de Bataille (representing the *langue* of France), the commander de Chateaufort (representing the *langue* of Provence), the commander de Dienne (representing the *langue* of Auvergne), the commander Bertrand, and the bailiff Lasterie du Saillant, prior of Auvergne. It also received the recognition of the king Louis XVIII.

This commission exercised important functions on behalf of the Order in general during a series of years; it negotiated, though unsuccessfully, with the king for the restoration of the property of the institution in France and it treated with the congress of Vienna for a new *chef-lieu* in the Mediterranean. In an appeal to the French king and chambers it represented the whole fraternity in 1816, and again at the congress of Verona in 1822.

Whilst engaged in these various negotiations for the benefit of the Order at large, the question was mooted of a possible revival of the English *langue*, and the matter eventually received a practical solution. The commission placed itself in communication with the Rev. Sir Robert Peat, D.D., Chaplain Extraordinary to His Majesty George IV., and other Englishmen of position, to whom were submitted the authorities under which it was constituted. These gentlemen undertook to give their aid in the resuscitation of so interesting a relic of the ancient chivalry of Europe. The negotiations, which were continued for some time, resulted in the revival of the English *langue* of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, for which purpose articles of convention were executed on the 11th

une, 1826, and on the 24th August and 15th October, 1827. These documents thus refer to the English people :—

“This brave and generous nation furnished formerly illustrious subjects who made part of the most formidable, the most valiant, and the most renowned knights of this ancient sovereign Order, and whose successors are now invited to raise that Christian and famous banner which was in former times the pride and glory of their ancestors, and who can again form part of this Order in climates and in countries the most fortunate and most celebrated.”

The articles of convention distinctly recite that, in making this revival, the French *langues* are acting with the concurrence and approval of those of Aragon and Castile; thus, by a representation of five out of the eight divisions of the Order, giving the weight of majority, if such addition were necessary, to the powers of the associated French *langues*. This revival of the Order in England was conducted and accomplished in the most honourable spirit, and with the most chivalric intentions. The English gentlemen whose interest was enlisted in the revival were men of the highest character, whilst the disinterested views of the French knights may be gathered from a passage in one of their official communications, in which they declare that the business of the English *langue* must be conducted in an English manner, and so that the foreign members should not interfere in the management of the funds, which were to be solely and exclusively under the direction of the English brethren. These communications further enjoin the greatest caution in the nomination of knights, and declare that “to revive so honourable an institution it is most necessary to act legally, and

“according to the existing statutes, otherwise the Order
 “would not be esteemed and respected; that the statutes
 “must be taken by the committee as its guide and direction
 “in the work, and that from this foundation no departure
 “could take place, except as regards the modifications
 “necessary owing to the religion of the United Kingdom.”
 The chevalier Phillipe de Chastelain and Mr. Donald
 Currie were appointed delegates for formally inaugurating
 the revival, by deed dated 14th December, 1827.

On the 24th January, 1831, the chevalier de Chastelain
 attended a meeting in London, when the English *langue*
 was formally reorganized, and Sir Robert Peat was
 invested with the functions and authority of grand-prior
 of the revived English *langue*. The names of many
 English noblemen and gentlemen were then inscribed on
 its roll.

In 1834, acting under the advice of the Vice-Chancellor
 of England, Sir Launcelot Shadwell (who himself shortly
 afterwards joined the Order), Sir Robert Peat sought to
 qualify for office, and at the same time to revive the
 charter of Philip and Mary, before referred to, by taking
 the oath *de fidei administratione* in the Court of King’s
 Bench. He accordingly attended on the 24th February
 1834, and the Court, as the records of the *langue* state
 “On its being announced by the Macer that the Lord-
 “Prior of St. John had come into Court to qualify, rose to
 “receive him, and he did then and there openly qualify
 “himself before the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir
 “Thomas Denman, knight, to hold, exercise, and discharge
 “the office of Prior of the *langue* of England, under the
 “charter of King Philip and Queen Mary.” The oath of
 qualification taken by Sir Robert Peat on the occasion is
 among the records of the kingdom, and a copy of the

ame, authenticated by the signature of the Lord Chief Justice, is among the archives of the *langue*. It was as follows:—

“ In the King’s Bench.

“ I, the Right Reverend Sir Robert Peat, knight, Vicar of New Brentford, in the County of Middlesex, and Prior of the Sixth Language of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, in London, do make oath and say that I will faithfully, truly, carefully, and strictly perform, fulfil, keep, and obey the ancient Statutes of the said Sovereign Order as far as they are applicable to the government of the Sixth Language, and in accordance with the other seven languages, and that I will use the authority reposed in me, and my best endeavours and exertions amongst the Brethren, to keep the said Statutes inviolable: this deponent hereby qualifying himself to govern the said Sixth Language as prior thereof under the provision of the Statute of the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, in the case made and provided.

“ (Signed) ROBERT PEAT.

“ Sworn at Guildhall, in the City of London, this 24th day of February 1834, before me

“ (Signed) T. DENMAN.”

From that time the *langue* has continued to advance in numbers and prosperity, and has endeavoured by works of usefulness and charity to follow in the footsteps of the parent Order of old.

Those labours have not been unimportant, as may be seen by the following list of the principal objects which have engaged its attention:—

Providing convalescent patients of hospitals (without distinction of creed) with such nourishing diets as are

medically ordered so as to aid their return at the earliest possible time to the business of life and the support of their families.

The original institution in England of what is now known as the "National Society for Aid to Sick and Wounded in War."

The foundation and maintenance of cottage hospitals and convalescent homes.

Providing the means and opportunities for local training of nurses for the sick poor, and the foundation of what is now known as the Metropolitan and National Society for training such nurses.

The promotion of a more intimate acquaintance with the wants of the poor in time of sickness.

The establishment of ambulance litters for the conveyance of sick and injured persons in the colliery and mining districts, and in all large railway and public departments and towns, as a means of preventing much aggravation of human suffering.

The award of silver and bronze medals and certificates of honour for special services on land in the cause of humanity.

The initiation and organization during the Turco-Servian war of the "Eastern War Sick and Wounded Relief Fund."

The institution of the "St. John Ambulance Association" for instruction in the preliminary treatment of the injured in peace, and the wounded in war. The object of this association is for the purpose of disseminating information as to the preliminary treatment of the sick and injured, and thereby alleviating to some extent the enormous amount of human suffering at present so frequently needlessly aggravated by the igno-

ance of those unskilled persons with whom the patient first brought in contact.

The "British Hospice and Ophthalmic Dispensary" at Jerusalem, which has been established by the *langue* for the relief of the terrible sufferings caused in Palestine by diseases of the eye, and the ignorance prevalent as to their proper treatment. The sultan has aided in this good work by granting a firman for the site of the hospital. He has since redeemed this promise by a gift of £900 Turkish, the *langue* having self-purchased a site and building, and having commenced the operations of the dispensary. Crowds of afflicted Syrians flock thither for relief, and as the work is strictly on a non-sectarian basis, no opposition is encountered. Of all the charitable operations now being carried on by the *langue*, there is none that promises to effect so much real good as this, or which so closely adopts the views of the original founders of the Order. The fraternity is indebted for this establishment to the untiring energy, zeal, and liberality of Sir Edmund and Lady Lechmere, who have laboured most assiduously for the attainment of the object. Sir Edmund has personally visited Jerusalem, and placed himself in communication with the Turkish authorities in order to obtain the most suitable site for the Hospice, and to carry on the necessary and somewhat delicate negotiations for the purchase.

The *langue* now consists of the following members:—
 The Lord Prior, His Grace the Duke of Manchester.
 The Bailiff of the Eagle, The Right Hon. Lord Leigh.
 1 Knight Commander of Hanley Castle, Worcester-shire.

56 Knights of Justice, including H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught, and H.S.H. The Duke of Teck.

18 Chaplains, including the Right Rev. the Bishop of St. Albans, Gibraltar, and Tennessee.

29 Dames Chevalières of Justice, including H.R.H. The Princess of Wales, H.R.H. The Princess Christian H.R. and S.H. The Duchess of Teck, and the reigning Grand Duchess of Baden.

17 Knights of Grace.

21 Esquires.

3 Serving Brothers.

There are also affiliated to the *langue* a considerable number of Honorary Associates and Donats, who have aided in the good works now being carried on.

CHAPTER XVI.

gregory Caraffa — Adrian de Vignacourt — Raymond Perrelos — Embassy from Russia — Construction of a new fleet — Zondodari — Manöel de Vilhena — Erection of Fort Manöel — Emanuel Pinto — François Ximenes — De Rohan — Convocation of the last chapter-general — Erection of Fort Tigné — The French revolution — Destruction of the French *langues* — Death of de Rohan and election of von Hompesch — Establishment of a Russian priory — Capture of Malta decreed — Arrival of the French fleet before the island — Dispositions of Bonaparte for the attack — State of the town — Inefficiency of von Hompesch — Surrender of the island — Departure of the knights for Russia — Election of the emperor Paul as Grand-Master — French decrees on assuming possession of the island — Departure of Bonaparte for Egypt.

It has been stated at the end of Chap. XII. that the Grand-Master Nicholas Cottoner died in the year 1680. His place was filled by the election of Gregory Caraffa, Grand-prior of La Rocella, who had commanded the Maltese galleys at the battle of the Dardanelles in 1656. This was the first time in a century that an Italian knight had been raised to the supreme dignity; his accession was consequently hailed by his countrymen with the most lively satisfaction. The peace and unanimity which had prevailed within the convent in the days of the brothers Cottoner still continued, and rendered the rule of Caraffa prosperous and happy. The new Grand-Master was not an idle spectator of the war raging

between the Turks and the Austrians, the galleys of Malta being most successfully engaged in the waters of the Levant during this period. We find the emperor Leopold in 1683 addressing a special letter to Caraffa in which he thanks him in the warmest terms for preserving Christendom from the Turkish fleet, and in the same year John Sobieski sent him two letters, in which he related the particulars of the glorious victories he had gained over the Turks—one under the walls of Vienna on the 13th September, and the other on the Danube on the 10th October, 1683. The fact that this chief should have deemed it advisable to forward a detailed account of his movements to Malta, proves that the knights of St. John still ranked high in public estimation as opponents of Turkish domination.

Caraffa died on the 21st July, 1690, and was succeeded by Adrian de Vignacourt, nephew of the former Grand-Master of that name; he was in his turn followed in 1697 by Raymond Perrelos, the bailiff of Negropont, of the *langue* of Aragon. In 1698 the Order was honoured by a special mission from Peter the Great. The empire of the Czar was in such contiguity to that of the Moslem, that he was anxious to secure support in his frequent collisions with his aggressive neighbours, and with this view determined to cultivate friendly relations with the knights of Malta. His envoy Kzeremitz arrived in the island on the 12th May, 1698, and remained there for a week. During his stay he was invested with the grand-cross by the hands of Perrelos himself. The decoration was touched by a piece of the true cross, then by the hand of St. John the Baptist, and eventually placed round the neck of the Russian, suspended from a massive gold chain.

About this time it was gradually discovered, during the

frequent naval combats that took place, that the galleys of the Order were no longer strong enough to compete successfully with the Turkish fleet, and it was therefore determined to provide larger vessels to aid them in their expeditions. Three ships of considerable size were consequently built, and named the *San Raymondo*, the *San Guiseppe*, and the *San Vincenzo*. The command of this new fleet was given to a French knight named St. Pierre, who on his first cruise captured the Tunisian flagship, a vessel of 50 guns, which was added to the squadron under the name of the *Santa Croce*.

At this time the convent of Malta was in a most flourishing condition. The bailiff of Chambray, in his record, says that, "in 1715, at the moment of the "declaration of war by the Turks against the Venetians, "the court of the Grand-Master Perrelos presented a "most brilliant aspect. No less than 1,500 knights, many "of them general officers of every army in Christendom, "formed the main ornament of the residence of the "Order." From that date until 1718, when peace was once more declared between these two powers, the knights of Malta continued to render the most valuable assistance to Venice; and so pleased was the Pope with their exertions, that he gave to the admiral of the Order the title of lieutenant-general of the papal armament.

From this period the last stage of the decadence of the fraternity may be dated. We no longer find any records of public service performed by the knights, and the eighty years which yet had to run their course before the final crisis arrived may be passed over in a few brief sentences. It is, indeed, little more than a catalogue of the names of successive Grand-Masters. Perrelos died in 1720, and was succeeded by Marco Antonio Zondodari, of the *langue* of

Italy, brother to the cardinal of that name. He lived only two years, when Anthony Manöel de Vilhena, of the *langue* of Castile, was appointed to the vacant office. Manöel, like so many of his predecessors, was ambitious of leaving a record of his rule by some substantial addition to the defences of Malta. He therefore erected a fort on the island in the Marsa Muscette. This work, called fort Manöel, commands the harbour, and covers the fortifications of Valetta on that side. Manöel's successor in 1736 was Raymond Despuig, who, in 1741, was followed by Emanuel Pinto de Fonseca, bailiff of Acre, of the *langue* of Castile, who maintained his sway for thirty-two years. By this time the Ottoman empire had ceased to cause uneasiness in Europe; her navy was no longer spreading terror along the coasts of the Mediterranean, and the caravans of the galleys of Malta had degenerated into mere pleasure cruises. Sonnini, in his "Travels in Egypt," gives the following description of these galleys at the time:—"They were armed, or rather embarrassed, "with an incredible number of hands; the general (or "flagship) had 800 men on board. They were superbly "ornamented; gold blazed on the numerous basso-relievos "and sculptures on the stern; enormous sails, striped with "blue and white, carried in the centre a great cross of Malta "painted red. Their elegant flags floated majestically. "In a word, everything concurred when they were under "sail to render them a magnificent spectacle. But their "construction was little adapted either for fighting or for "standing foul weather. The Order kept them up rather "as an image of its ancient splendour than for utility. It "was one of those ancient institutions which had once "served to render the brotherhood illustrious, but now "only attested its selfishness and decay."

Emanuel Pinto died on the 25th January, 1773, at the age of ninety-two years. His character was of that firm and determined nature that had he reigned twenty-five years later, he might perhaps have warded off the blow which was then struck. The following speech marks well the tendency of his ideas of government:—
‘If I were king of France, I would never convoke the states-general; if I were the Pope, I would never assemble a council; being the chief of the Hospitallers of St. John, I will have no chapters-general; I know too well that these assemblies almost always finish by destroying the rights of those who have permitted their convocation.’

Pinto was succeeded by François Ximenes, grand-prior of Navarre, and in 1775, when he died, his place was filled by Emmanuel de Rohan Polduc. His first act was to summon a chapter-general. A period of 150 years had elapsed since the last convocation of this assembly, and now de Rohan, who did not deem the powers entrusted to him by the council sufficient for the position in which the fraternity found itself, once more called into existence the venerable parliament of the Order. On the whole, it effected but little, and when at the close of its sixteen days’ session, it was dissolved, never more to reassemble, de Rohan found that his hands had not been much strengthened.

In 1781 the Order of St. Anthony, an institution as venerable as that of St. John, was incorporated with it, and the whole of its property made over to the knights of Malta, who thus became possessed of a considerable augmentation to their resources. In 1782 a new *langue* was created in Bavaria, and joined to that of England under the title of Anglo-Bavaria. This was endowed by

the elector of Bavaria with the forfeited possessions of the Jesuits, who had been suppressed in that country and elsewhere. The value of this additional revenue was £15,000 a year, and the dignities of Turcopolier and grand-prior of Bavaria were attached to the new *langue* which comprised 20 commanderies for knights and 4 for chaplains. De Rohan, following the example of Vilhena, added yet another to the numerous defences of the island. This was a fort upon point Dragut to aid fort Ricasoli in protecting the entrance to the harbours. If de Rohan designed in this way to perpetuate his name, he failed since the work has been called fort Tigné, after the grand prior of Champagne. It has been alleged, with justice, that there was as much of display as of precaution in most of these later additions to the fortress; the duke of Rovigo observed that "all the Grand-Masters since the establishment of the Order in Malta seem to have craved no other title of glory than that of having added some new defence, either to the harbours or town. Being the sole care of the government, it had ended in becoming a pure matter of ostentation."

Such was the position of affairs in Malta when the first mutterings of the storm which was destined ere long to sweep the fraternity from its home, made themselves heard in France. The institution of the Hospital was far too aristocratic in constitution to escape the antagonism of the *sans culottes* of the Revolution, whose cry of "*à bas les aristocrates*" was ringing through France. The steps by which its spoliation were consummated were quickly taken, and met with no resistance. In the first constituent assembly, the Order of St. John had been defined as placed in the category of a foreign power possessing property within the French kingdom, and, as such, subject

to all the taxes imposed on the natives. This step was followed by a decree stating that any Frenchman becoming a member of an order of knighthood requiring proofs of nobility, should no longer be considered a citizen of France. These preliminary measures having been taken, the great blow was struck on the 19th September, 1792, when it was enacted that the Order of Malta should cease to exist within the limits of France, and that all its property should be annexed to the national domains. At first, mention was made of an indemnification in the shape of pensions, to be granted to the knights who were thus despoiled of their property; but the power of deriving benefit from this apparent concession was taken away by the condition that the pensioner must reside within the French territory, an utter impossibility at a time when the aristocracy was being exposed to the most cruel persecution. This decree was the signal for a wholesale plunder of the commanderies. Such members of the fraternity as were not fortunate enough to effect their escape were thrown into prison, and left to the fearful suspense incident to those dens of horror, and many of them suffered in the general massacres.

Great as was the provocation, the Order did not in consequence break with the French directory, nor did its members openly join the forces of those who sought to crush the dreaded outbreak. On the contrary, a temporizing policy seems to have been maintained. De Rohan was indeed utterly unsuited to the perilous crisis in which he was placed, and physical incapacity had utterly been added to impair his energy, he having been struck with apoplexy in the preceding year. Although he recovered to a certain extent from this illness, he never regained his vigour of mind, and

his last days were clouded with the dread that his Order was doomed.

The directory had for some time looked with longing eyes upon the island of Malta, and had determined if possible to expel the knights and attach it to the French territories. Spies and other emissaries were set to work within the island, sowing those seeds of discontent and turbulence which were so soon to bear fruit. The government of de Rohan was most blameworthy for permitting this continuous tampering with the fidelity of its subjects; it seemed as though, by some unaccountable fatality, the supineness of the Order itself was destined to aid the designs of its enemies. In the midst of this gloomy period de Rohan died on the 13th July, 1797.

Ferdinand Joseph Antoine Herman Louis von Hompesch, to whose name is attached the melancholy distinction of having been the last Grand-Master of Malta, was elected to fill the vacancy. He was the first member of the *langue* of Germany who had ever been raised to that office. His rule opened with a gleam of prosperity, from the favourable disposition of the emperor of Russia towards the fraternity. Paul I. had always been its enthusiastic admirer, and now that he had reached the throne he gave a practical proof of his friendship. The priory of Poland was largely augmented and made Russian, with a revenue of 300,000 florins. This converted priory was divided into ten commanderies for knights and three for chaplains, and was incorporated into the Anglo-Bavarian *langue*. The emperor at the same time assumed the title of "Protector of the Order of Malta."

At length the year opened which was to see the Order removed from the home where it had dwelt during nearly

three centuries. The treasury was at this time in an alarming state of deficit; most of its revenues had been confiscated or were unavailable; much of the plate and jewels had been either melted down or disposed of, and but little remained to defray the expenditure necessary for placing the island in a proper state of defence. At this time there were present at the convent the following knights, viz.:—200 of the three French *langues*, 90 Italians, 25 Spanish, 8 Portuguese, 4 Germans, and 5 Anglo-Bavarian, making a total of 332; but of these only 280 were from age and other causes capable of bearing arms. The garrison consisted of the Maltese regiment of 500 men; the Grand-Master's guard of 200; the battalions of the men-of-war and galleys, 700; artillery, 100; chasseurs of the militia, 1,200; and sailors, 1,200, making a total of nearly 4,000 men, to which should be added the ordinary militia, who might be counted on as of a certain value.

The destruction of the Order and the capture of the island were decreed in an act drawn up by the French directory, dated Paris, 23 Germinal, An VI. (12th April, 1798). It was not printed, and for a time remained a secret between the directory and those to whom its execution was intrusted. Meanwhile, the world was thrown into consternation by the rumours of an extensive expedition preparing in the French arsenals of the Mediterranean, the destination of which was as yet unknown. The restless spirit of aggression with which the young republic was imbued rendered every nation suspicious; arrangements were consequently set on foot on all sides for resistance. One power alone continued careless and inactive in the midst of the general alarm. Whilst the note of preparation arose in every other country in Europe, the island of Malta remained in a state of

indolent security. Warnings had been despatched to the Grand-Master; but they had remained unheeded. An ill-placed and incomprehensible confidence on his part, joined to the most palpable treachery on that of his advisers, led to the engendering of a fatal sense of security, from which he was not aroused until the enemy was at the door.

Such then was the comparatively unprepared condition of Malta when, on the 6th June, 1798, a French fleet, consisting of 18 sail, accompanied by 70 transports, appeared off the island, under the command of Com-modore Sidoux. Permission was demanded for a few of the vessels to enter the harbour and water; this was granted, two of the transports being admitted for that purpose, as also one of the frigates for repair, the remainder lying at anchor outside. Every effort was made by the knights to mark their strict neutrality, and their readiness to offer hospitality and assistance as well to the French as to the other powers whose fleets might approach their shores. On the 9th June, the main portion of the expedition appeared with the rest of the forces, the whole being under the command of General Bonaparte in person. The squadron thus united consisted of 14 line-of-battle ships, 30 frigates, and 300 transports, the commander-in-chief being on board the flagship *L'Orient*.

On his arrival before Malta, Bonaparte despatched the French consul, Caruson, to the Grand-Master, demanding free entrance into the grand harbour for the whole fleet, and that his troops should be permitted to land. Such a request proved the object which the French general had in view; to have yielded the required permission would have been simply to surrender the fortress without

striking a blow. Von Hompesch, by the advice of his council, returned for answer that it was contrary to the rules of his Order and to the treaty which had been made with France, Spain, and Naples, in 1768, to permit the entry of more than four ships of war at a time. This rule he was not in a position to abrogate, but any assistance which he could render to the sick would be tendered with the utmost pleasure and promptitude. The letter concluded with a hope that the Order might still trust to the loyalty and good faith of the French nation, with which it had always lived in peace and harmony. This refusal was taken on board the French flagship by Caruson, who at the same time informed Bonaparte that treason was rife within the town. Caruson did not return on shore, but despatched a letter to the Grand-Master on behalf of Bonaparte, who did not condescend to correspond in person, declaring immediate war.

Bonaparte had already, in anticipation of the event, issued the most detailed orders to the various generals who were to take part in the attack, as to their respective proceedings. General Baraguay d'Hilliers was to land at Melleha bay, General Vaubois at St. Julian's, General Desaix at Marsa Scirocco, and General Regnier at Gozo. The force to be landed by Baraguay d'Hilliers was not intended for the assault of the fortress. He was merely to occupy that part of the island near Melleha bay and to keep the inhabitants in check, the actual attack being confided to Desaix and Vaubois. In all these orders much stress was laid upon the necessity of informing the inhabitants that the French had no desire to change their customs or religion, and that all priests and monks would be specially protected.

Within the convent no one talked openly of surrender ;

but no prompt measures of defence were taken. Von Hompesch himself was perfectly useless in the crisis—not indeed prepared to yield, but unable to take the most ordinary precautions for the general safety. Without the walls of the palace treason stalked openly and undisguisedly. The emissaries of the republic were to be seen everywhere discouraging the loyal, seducing the vacillating, and pointing out to all the folly of attempting resistance when no preparations had been made, and when the feelings of the garrison were so divided on the point.

On the evening of the 9th June Bonaparte gave his final orders, and at four o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 10th, the disembarkation began. Eleven different points were selected for this operation, and the towers of St. George and St. Julian yielded without resistance. By ten o'clock the whole outlying country was in the hands of the French, and all the detached forts, with the sole exception of St. Lucian's tower, in the Marsa Scirocco, had surrendered. By noon 15,000 men were landed, and the heads of their columns had advanced close to the defences on the side of the Cottonera lines. Treachery and panic had all this time been working their way within the town. Von Hompesch, instead of endeavouring to restore discipline and confidence remained buried in his palace in the company only of a single aide-de-camp; he did not even name a lieutenant to aid him in the juncture. The commanders of the various posts, unwilling to take upon themselves the responsibility of action, remained passive, and the French were permitted to assume their positions unmolested. At length a feeble attempt was made to check the advance of the enemy by a sortie; but the Maltese regiment which

was sent out for this purpose, having been received by the enemy with a heavy fire, soon gave way, and retreated into the town in such confusion that they suffered the loss of their colours.

Before night the division under Desaix had invested the Cottonera lines and fort Ricasoli; whilst Baraguay d' Hilliers was in possession of the centre of the island, Vaubois had seized the Città Notabile, and Regnier was master of Gozo. Night only added to the general confusion and dismay. Shots were heard on all sides, and the garrison was called on to fight, not only against the open enemy in its front, but also the insidious treachery in its midst. Everywhere the most complete disorganization was apparent: the soldiers deserted their standards, the people collected in threatening crowds. Cries of treason were heard on all sides. Throughout this night of disorder the French emissaries were busied in exciting the people to extreme measures, and in pointing out those as traitors who were in reality the most zealous in endeavouring to maintain the fortress. The infuriated multitude soon proceeded to acts of violence, and several unfortunate nights fell victims to their rage, the bleeding corpses being dragged to the square in front of the Grand-Master's palace.

About midnight a deputation from some of the leading citizens proceeded to the palace, and demanded that the Grand-Master should sue for a cessation of hostilities. They pointed out that treason was at work; that no orders were being executed; that the plan organized for defence was not carried out; that provisions, ammunition, and despatches were all intercepted; and that the massacre of the knights which had already taken place proved the hostility of the people. To this demand von Hompesch

returned a refusal, without, however, taking any active measures to render that decision effectual. Before long, a second deputation made its appearance, and announced that if he did not promptly capitulate, the Maltese would open negotiations with Bonaparte themselves, and treat for the surrender of the town without further reference to him.

On this, von Hompesch summoned his council to deliberate on the demand of the insurgents, and it was then decided that a deputation should be selected to wait on the French general and request a suspension of arms as a preliminary to capitulation. The persons named for this duty were the bailiff Saousa, the knights Miari and Monferret, the Maltese baron d'Aurel, and M. Fremeaux, the Dutch consul. As soon as the mission had departed on its errand, orders were sent by von Hompesch to the different posts to cease firing, and ere long a complete silence reigned throughout the town, broken only by the distant booming of the guns of St. Lucian's tower at the Marsa Scirocco, commanded by La Guérivière, a gallant knight who maintained an active resistance in his little isolated post until the next day, when he was forced to surrender, his garrison having been twenty-four hours without food.

Bonaparte, who had all along been kept acquainted with the course matters were taking, had awaited with impatience the demand for an armistice. He was so certain that his friends would secure the surrender of the place without much effort on his part, that he had done little or nothing towards the actual prosecution of the siege. He had, it is true, landed a few pieces of artillery, and had begun to throw up some batteries, but this was merely to terrify the inhabitants, and not with much view

to actual use. Indeed, his instructions from the directory forbade his persevering in the design if he found himself opposed by any very determined resistance. It was feared, and with reason, that the safety of the expedition would be compromised if he were detained for any length of time before the walls of Valetta, and that the dreaded English fleet would be upon his track. Anxiously, therefore, had he looked for the first proffers of surrender, which his emissaries within the town assured him were about to be made.

Not a moment was lost after the arrival of the deputation in securing the object of the mission. General Junot, aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, M. Poussielgue, in charge of the commissariat chest, and a French knight of St. John, named Dolomière, one of a party of savants accompanying the expedition in order to study the geology of Egypt, were nominated to treat for the surrender. These three at once entered the town to arrange the conditions. Von Hompesch received them in due state, surrounded by his council, and prepared to open the proceedings with all the customary formalities. When, however, the secretary demanded of the Grand-Master what preamble he should draw up, Junot rudely interrupted him, exclaiming, "What preamble do you want? Four lines will settle the entire business, and "those Poussielgue will dictate." It was evidently the intention of the French envoy to carry everything with a high hand, and there was no one present daring enough to oppose him. A suspension of twenty-four hours was decreed, within which time the final terms of capitulation were to be arranged.

On the following day Bonaparte entered Valetta, where he established his head-quarters. As he passed through

the stupendous works, and saw their strength, he exclaimed, "Well was it for us that we had friends within to open the gates. Had the place been empty, we should have had far more difficulty in effecting an entrance." He had, indeed, reason to congratulate himself. Had he been detained for a short time before the fortress, the British fleet would have been upon him, and the battle of the Nile would have been anticipated. The capture of Malta, and the expedition to Egypt had been contrived by his enemies as a trap to insure his failure and downfall. The cowardice of von Hompesch had turned the scale in his favour, and Europe learnt with amazement that the powerful fortress of Malta had surrendered to his arms in two days.

Bonaparte did not condescend to pay any personal respect to the chief whose sovereignty had been thus easily torn from him; nor did he honour him with a visit. Von Hompesch, on the other hand, anxious to secure certain concessions and privileges for himself and his fraternity, determined to overlook the marked slight thus cast upon him, and personally sought the interview which the French general did not appear disposed to demand. Accompanied by a body of knights, he presented himself before the victorious commander. The interview was brief and unsatisfactory; the requests he preferred were declined, and himself treated with but scant courtesy.

Von Hompesch had put forward a claim to all the plate and jewellery belonging to the palace and attached to the office of Grand-Master; but the demand was refused upon the plea that it was proposed to make him an allowance of 600,000 francs as an equivalent. Of this sum, 300,000 were retained for the ostensible purpose of paying his creditors, who were very numerous, and who,

since he had been stripped of his revenues, were becoming clamorous for their dues. Of the balance, 200,000 were paid in bills on the French treasury, and 100,000 only in cash. At his special request he was permitted to carry away with him the three relics which the Order had always held in such high veneration, namely, a piece of the true cross, of which it had originally been possessed in the Holy Land, the right hand of St. John the Baptist, and the miraculous picture of Our Lady of Philermo. These, however, were stripped of their valuable cases and ornaments before they were handed to him. Von Hompesch, with his suite, embarked at two o'clock in the morning of the 18th June on board a merchantman bound for Trieste, and was escorted by a French frigate.

The main body of the knights, who, on their expulsion from Malta, were cast homeless on the world, proceeded at once to Russia, where the emperor still retained the title of Protector of the Order, and was the only monarch who of late years had shown any sympathy with them. By him they were received in the most cordial manner, and he soon evinced a desire to be named Grand-Master, in lieu of von Hompesch. On this becoming known, the knights summoned a council, and on the 27th October elected him. This nomination was utterly illegal; still, invalid though it was, Paul accepted the dignity in a proclamation dated on the 13th November, and on the 10th December was publicly invested with the insignia of his new office. He did not, however, consider his appointment free from cavil so long as the election of von Hompesch remained unannulled. He therefore caused such pressure to be brought to bear on that unfortunate chief, that on the 6th July, 1799, a formal act of abdication was forwarded to St.

Petersburg, and Paul was henceforth left to enjoy his barren dignity undisturbed. He shortly after created a second Russian priory for members of the Greek church. The new priory consisted of 98 commanderies, and its revenues amounted to 216,000 roubles, payable out of the public treasury.

Bonaparte did not allow much time to elapse before he secured himself in his new conquest, and the surrender of the fortress was completed as rapidly as possible. At midday on the 12th June, fort Manöel, fort Tigné, the castle of St. Angelo, the Margarita and the Cottonera lines were all transferred to the French, and on the next day the remainder of the works followed. The troops of the Order were permitted to return temporarily to the barracks, which they occupied until they could be otherwise disposed of. A commission of government was established to take charge of the administration, to superintend the collection of taxes, the arrangements for the provisioning of the island, and its sanitary regulation. A special decree was issued that all armorial bearings were to be removed within the space of twenty-four hours, that no liveries were to be worn, and that all titles of nobility were abolished. The consequences of this order are still visible in the defacement of most of the armorial tablets in the island.

Then followed another decree directing that all persons subjects of any power at war with France, were to quit the island in forty-eight hours. All knights under sixty years of age were to leave within three days. The property of all English, Russian, and Portuguese merchants was seized. All the gold, silver, and precious stones found in the cathedral of St. John or in other churches, all the plate belonging to the auberges, the Grand-

Master's palace, and the hospital, was seized and deposited in the army chest, it being distinctly specified that nothing should be left in the churches but what was absolutely necessary for the services of religion.

Then followed a decree directing the formation of a company of volunteers, to be composed of young men of from fifteen to thirty years of age, taken from the principal families of Malta. They were to be clothed and armed at the expense of their families, and were to accompany the army to Egypt. Another body of 60 lads, from nine to fourteen years of age, was to be sent to Paris to be brought up in the colleges of the republic. Their parents were to pay 800 francs a year for their maintenance, and 600 francs for the expenses of their journey. Six more youths, similarly selected, were to be placed with the fleet to be educated for the navy. Numerous other ordinances of a similar character followed during the few days that Bonaparte remained in the island, and marked the nature of the rule under which the Maltese were henceforth to dwell.

At length, on the 21st June, the expeditionary force left Malta, taking with them the Maltese regiment, the Grand-Master's guard, and a great number of the sailors of the island. The whole of the property of which the churches had been robbed was placed on board the flag-ship *L'Orient*, and when she blew up at the battle of the Nile it was entirely lost. General Vaubois was left behind with a garrison of 3,000 infantry, and five companies of artillery to hold the fortress.

The Maltese had for some years past been attracted by the high-flown principles put forward by the French revolutionary party, and they were now to taste some of its fruits. The White Cross banner had been lowered

from its standard, and in its place was raised the tri-colour emblem of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The despotism of the Grand-Masters was exchanged for the free and enlightened government of republican France, and the inhabitants were soon able to judge for themselves as to the value of those doctrines which had sounded so attractive to their ears.

CHAPTER XVII.

Insurrection of the Maltese—Blockade of the French within the fortress—Arrival of the joint British and Portuguese fleet—Details of the blockade—Sufferings of the garrison—Perseverance of the Maltese—Capture of the men-of-war sheltered in the harbour—Capitulation of the French—Treaty of Amiens—Eventual transfer of the island to the British—History of the Order since the death of the emperor Paul—Its present position at Rome—Conclusion.

THE departure of Bonaparte caused no relaxation in the rigour of the French policy, so that before long it dawned upon the minds of the Maltese that the liberty, the equality, and the fraternity for which they had so fervently prayed were practical nonentities, and that these high-sounding, philanthropical titles were but cloaks to a tyranny compared with which the rule of the Grand-Masters was mild indeed. Still, although they were grievously disappointed, they might have remained quiet and submissive, had their feelings not been insulted on a point where they were most sensitive. Had the French refrained from interference with the religion of Malta they might possibly have carried their other acts of spoliation with a high hand; but they committed a grave error of policy in plundering the churches of the costly decorations and votive offerings in which the inhabitants took so great a pride. From the moment they began these

sacrilegious depredations, all sympathy between them and the Maltese was at an end. The latter looked with feelings of horror and detestation on a nation which, openly regardless of all religion itself, was guilty of such acts of wanton desecration, and the spirit of discontent, which had hitherto found vent in idle murmurs, was now so roused that it soon broke out into open revolt.

The French had utterly mistaken the Maltese temperament, which is naturally bright, cheerful, and submissive; and neglected to mark the undercurrent of firm and determined courage which forms the mainstay of their character. Hardy, temperate, and, when excited, capable of deeds of the most dauntless heroism, passionately attached to their island and religion, the Maltese may be made, according to the manner in which they are governed, either the warmest friends and the most loyal subjects, or the bitterest and most dangerous enemies. The French committed the serious error of despising their new subjects, and they soon had cause to rue their short-sighted policy.

The government had advertised the sale of some tapestry and other decorations from a church in the Città Notabile, and the crowd assembled on the occasion showed the first symptoms of revolt. This event took place on the 2nd September, 1798, and brought on a riot of so serious a character that the sale was necessarily postponed, a step which for the moment quelled the disturbance. The commandant Masson at once despatched a message to General Vaubois in Valetta, informing him of what had occurred, and praying for a reinforcement. This letter did not reach the general until the evening, so that he was unable to send any assistance until the next morning. This delay was probably one of the main causes of the loss of Malta to

the French. In the afternoon the riot, which had been suppressed, once more broke out. The garrison, including the commandant, were all massacred, and the town fell into the hands of the insurgents. The example thus set was speedily followed in the neighbouring villages, and before night the revolt had spread far and wide. Ignorant of this fact, early on the morning of the 3rd September, Vaubois despatched a body of 200 men to the assistance of Masson. Before they had gone far they were assailed on all sides, and met with so obstinate a resistance that they were forced to retreat with all haste, having lost several of their number, who were cut off by the rebels.

The revolt now spread over the whole island, and the French were closely invested within their lines. Even in Valetta the same spirit manifested itself, but here the superior power of the garrison enabled it to check the outbreak, and a few summary executions of the leaders reduced the mass of the inhabitants to a state of sullen submission. These vigorous acts on the part of the Maltese had been much encouraged, if not indeed originally prompted, by the intelligence brought five days previously by the French line-of-battle ship, the *Guillaume Tell*, and the two frigates, *Diane* and *Justice*, which had effected their escape after the battle of the Nile. These three vessels were almost the only relics of that glorious fight, and they had fled to Malta for protection as soon as the issue of the conflict had become decisive. It was, therefore, with very gloomy forebodings that General Vaubois found himself blockaded within his works at a moment when the utter annihilation of the French fleet in the Mediterranean had cut him off from all hope of succour. A strict examination was instituted into the resources of the fortress, when it was found that there was sufficient wheat for the population of

the whole island for seven months; should therefore the country remain in a state of revolt it was of course ample for the town requirements for a much longer period. Every effort was nevertheless made to recall the insurgents to their allegiance, but in vain. An amnesty was even offered to the leaders; but the people were not to be cajoled, and sternly rejected all proposals of compromise.

One of the earliest steps taken by the Maltese, after they had completed the investment of the towns, was to appeal to the king of Naples for assistance. In consequence of this request a Portuguese squadron was despatched to the island, under the command of the Sicilian admiral, the marquis de Niza, who was accompanied by Captain Ball, with the British 74-gun ship *Alexander*. This force, consisting of four ships of the line and two frigates, arrived before Malta on the 18th September, and at once established a blockade. It was joined, on the 24th October, by the British fleet under Nelson, consisting of fourteen sail in a shattered condition, having undergone no repairs since the desperate battle in which it had been engaged in Aboukir bay. On the following day Nelson sent the marquis de Niza back to Naples to refit, and himself began personally to look into the state of affairs. This he found very unsatisfactory, as far as the Neapolitan government was concerned. The Maltese were most determined and enthusiastic; but they were almost totally destitute of the means necessary for maintaining their resistance. He had been led to believe that they were furnished with arms and ammunition from Sicily; but so far was this from being the case, that, on the contrary, their vessels had actually been placed in quarantine by the Sicilians. The only assistance they had as yet received was from the

British, as Sir James Saumarez, having been detained off Malta whilst taking home the Nile prizes, had seized the opportunity of supplying the islanders with 1,200 muskets and a quantity of ammunition.

Nelson found 10,000 men in arms under the command of three leaders, Emmanuele Vitale, Vincenzo Borg, and Xavier Caruana, then canon and afterwards bishop of Malta. They had already begun the construction of batteries for the annoyance of the garrison. On the 5th October they had successfully resisted a sortie in force made by the French in the direction of the village of Zabbar, when they drove the garrison back with considerable loss. Since that date no further attempt had been made to assume the offensive. Nelson despatched Captain Ball to summon the island of Gozo, the result of which was a capitulation on the 30th October, 230 prisoners being taken and sent to Naples. Before quitting Malta, the admiral intrusted to Ball the duty of aiding the inhabitants and organizing their resistance, proposing that, on the surrender of the fortress, he should assume the government either on behalf of the king of Naples, or jointly for him and the king of England.

At this time it was the general opinion that the French would not hold out long; but events proved how fallacious that view was, as the blockade had to be maintained for two long years before the constancy of the garrison was subdued by the force of sheer starvation. The narrative of that blockade does not come strictly within the province of this work. It will, therefore, be sufficient to touch upon a few only of the most salient points. The journal of Ransijat, an ex-knight, who had taken office under the French, contains a very full and minute account of all that took place, and is the principal authority extant on

the subject. His book is full of complaints of the total dearth of intelligence from France, which in those eventful times must have been very trying; also of constant dread of bombardment, which was every now and then threatened by the besiegers, but never carried out; records of summonses from the hostile admirals, invariably rejected with contempt; and of the arrival at intervals of some small vessel laden with corn, wine, oil, or brandy, which had evaded the blockading squadron.

The inhabitants of the town had not openly joined the insurrection; still the greater number of them were naturally eager for the success of their compatriots, and were only kept from an open manifestation of their sympathies by the superior French force in their midst. Amongst them a plot was hatched which at one time bid fair to curtail the tedious duration of the blockade, and to achieve at a blow that triumph which they had hitherto only hoped for from the effect of starvation. It was arranged that the chief conspirators were each to lead a body of some 50 or 60 men to the attack of the principal posts within the city, as it had been observed that the sentries were not very vigilant, and it was believed that they could be surprised and poniarded without raising an alarm. These assaults were to be made simultaneously on the 11th January, 1799, and were to be supported by a general attack from without on several points of the enceinte, so as to distract the attention of the garrison.

The discovery of the plot was purely accidental. On the morning of the appointed day a Genoese barque had entered the harbour, having eluded the blockading squadron, and had brought intelligence of important successes obtained by the French over the Sardinians and

Neapolitans. General Vaubois ordered a salute to be fired in honour of the occasion, and the Maltese, mistaking this for the appointed signal, at once rushed to the attack of the Floriana and Cottonera lines, from which they were soon compelled to retire with heavy loss. This premature advance disarranged the plans of the conspirators, and they decided upon postponing their venture till a more favourable opportunity. Having no means of communicating this alteration of design to their friends outside, the latter remained in uncertainty as to what steps they should take. A number of volunteers, trusting that the outbreak might be attempted during the night, found their way under cover of the darkness to the rocks beneath the walls of the town, near the Marsa Muscette gate, and there awaited the course of events. Unfortunately for them, an officer returning to Fort Manöel was attracted by a light and the sound of whispered conversation beneath the walls. A patrol was sent to search the spot, the Maltese were discovered, the alarm given, and they were all seized. Eventually most of the details of the plot leaked out, and 44 persons, including the leaders, were executed. The terror thus inspired amongst the inhabitants relieved the French from all fear of a repetition of the event.

On the 21st May, 1799, the garrison was agreeably surprised to find that during the previous night all the blockading ships had vanished. The cause of this sudden movement was the escape of the French fleet from Brest, and its appearance in the Mediterranean joined by the Spanish ships from Corunna. Nelson's first determination on receiving this intelligence was to raise the blockade of Malta, and concentrate all his force off Maritimo, and for this purpose he directed Ball to rendezvous with his

squadron at that point. It soon, however, appeared that the French fleet, although it had entered the Mediterranean, had no intention of fighting, but had made its way as rapidly as possible to Toulon. Under these circumstances, Ball was directed to resume the blockade, and the squadron re-appeared before Malta on the 5th June, to the dismay of the garrison, and to the joy of the insurgent inhabitants.

Throughout the siege the greatest unanimity prevailed between the Maltese and the English. Captain Ball had endeared himself to the natives, and acted as their chief leader, organizing their forces, superintending the erection of their batteries, and supplying them, as far as his means permitted, with food and munitions of war. With the exception of this aid, the land attack was maintained almost exclusively by the Maltese, who are entitled to claim that they, and they alone, confined the French within the fortress, and kept them there for a period of two years. This is clearly proved by the fact that during the fifteen days when the fleet was absent, no attempt at a sortie was made by Vaubois.

Whilst such was the determined spirit shown by the Maltese against the French, their feelings on the subject of the return of the knights were by no means so unanimous, as many amongst them would have hailed that event with pleasure. Fears were therefore entertained lest a counter-revolution might break out, with the object of bringing about such a consummation. It was rumoured that such an event was likely to occur on the 29th June, 1799, the day of the celebration of the festival of St. Peter, when all the chiefs would assemble at the Città Notabile to assist at the religious ceremonies. On the 28th three

knights landed at St. Paul's bay, one of them being the bailiff de Nevens, who had been very popular amongst the Maltese, and had commanded the regiment of chasseurs. Captain Ball directed that they should be sent away from the island, which was done forthwith, but not before they had distributed a considerable sum of money amongst the people, and promised much more. In their baggage were found from 5,000 to 6,000 Maltese crowns, which were sent back with them. This was the only attempt made by members of the Order either to aid in expelling the French, or to recover possession of the island for themselves.

Arrangements were meanwhile made by the governments of England, Russia, and Naples that in case of a surrender the fortress should be occupied by the three powers jointly, pending the decision of the general congress as to its ultimate destination. The wishes of the Maltese do not appear to have been in any way consulted in the matter, although the whole onus of the land attack had fallen on them, and they were suffering with the most heroic endurance hardships and privations but little less than those of the beleaguered garrison. They had erected no fewer than fifteen batteries, stretching from the coast in front of Ricasoli round to the high ground in rear of Fort Manöel. The effect of the fire of these batteries is still visible in many points, notably at the Porte des Bombes. A plan exists in the Royal Engineer Office at Malta, originally forming one of Tigné's projects, which had been used by the French engineers during the siege, and on this map the Maltese batteries are all approximately laid down.

As time wore on, and the scarcity of provisions became more and more felt, large bodies of the inhabitants left

Valetta. No impediment was placed in the way of these departures, except in the case of those who, from their political influence or wealth, were likely to be serviceable to the garrison. Ransijat, in his "*Siege et Blocus de Malte*," gives some very interesting statistics as to the price of provisions at different periods during the siege. The following was the tariff at which food was procurable at certain dates:—

	February, 1799.			August, 1799.			July, 1800.			
	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Fresh pork. .per lb.	2	10	..	0	6	0	..	0	7	2
Cheese . . .per lb.	2	6	..	0	7	4	..	—		
Fishper lb.	1	6	..	0	3	2	..	0	6	0
Oil . . . per bottle	2	6	..	0	10	0	..	1	3	4
Sugarper lb.	5	0	..	0	17	6	..	2	0	0
Coffeeper lb.	4	0	..	1	0	10	..	2	8	4
Wine . . . per bottle	2	6	..	0	3	4	..	—		
Eggs each	0	4	..	0	0	8	..	—		

It will be seen that during the latter months many articles ceased to be procurable at any price, the garrison and few remaining inhabitants being forced to content themselves with the reduced rations issued from the public stores. Rats and other vermin became recognized article of consumption, and those found in the granaries and bakehouses were, from their plumpness, greatly esteemed. In order to eke out their scanty rations the soldiers had, in the early days of the siege, cultivated gardens in the ditches and other suitable places, and by this means added to their supply of food. So long as oil and vinegar were procurable, the salads thus produced reconciled them to the scarcity of meat, which was issued in very small quantities, and then only salted, all the fresh meat having

been from the first reserved for the use of the hospitals. The cultivation of these gardens was latterly abandoned, owing to the want of water. Ball, in a report to Nelson on the 18th July, 1799, says: "I have the honour to acquaint your lordship that a deserter is this moment come out of La Valetta who corroborates the distressed state of the French garrison, and, in addition, he says that there is very little water left on the Cotonaro side, and that they get their supply from La Valetta. General Vaubois has given orders to clear all the gardens of vegetables, to prevent any water being used there."

The mortality, both of garrison and inhabitants, was high during the earlier part of the siege; but as regards the latter, the number of deaths diminished greatly after the exodus of non-combatants had been sanctioned. During the two years 725 soldiers and 3,044 of the population are recorded to have died. At one period the soldiers suffered severely from moon blindness, losing their sight during the bright moonlight nights of summer, and recovering it again in the daylight. Up to a late period a company of Italian comedians had continued to reside in the town, and the theatre was kept regularly open for the amusement of the troops. The unfortunate actors had repeatedly sought permission to leave with the other inhabitants, but for a long time this was not granted, their services being considered indispensable. At length, even the little food necessary for their support was too valuable to be bestowed on non-combatants, and they were allowed to depart, their places being filled by amateurs from the garrison, who kept the theatre open till the very end.

It is quite evident from all the contemporary despatches

and correspondence that the English authorities at this time had no intention whatever of possessing themselves of Malta. They had undertaken to aid the insurgent Maltese by maintaining a blockade with the object of driving the French from the island, and it seemed to them a matter of little moment whether it afterwards fell into the hands of Russia, or Naples, or reverted to its former masters. Nelson's views about Malta are so singular that they are worthy of record. He seems to have utterly failed to realize its vast importance to England. He wrote to Earl Spencer: "To say the truth, the possession of Malta by England would be a useless and enormous expense; yet any expense should be incurred rather than let it remain in the hands of the French. Therefore, as I did not trouble myself about the establishing again the Order of St. John at Malta, Sir William Hamilton has the assurance from his Sicilian Majesty that he will never cede the sovereignty of the island to any power without the consent of his Britannic Majesty. The poor islanders have been so grievously oppressed by the Order, that many times we have been pressed to accept of the island for Great Britain, and I know if we had his Sicilian Majesty would have been contented but, as I said before, I attach no value to it for us but it is a place of such consequence to the French that any expense ought to be incurred to drive them out."

In the month of December, 1799, a small body of British troops, consisting of the 30th and 89th regiments in all 1,300 men, under General Sir Thomas Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch), and two Neapolitan battalions, together 900 strong, landed in the island, and assumed direction of the siege. Captain Ball, havin

been elected president of the national council, landed and assumed the office of governor of the Maltese, under sanction of the allied powers. From that time the command of the blockading squadron devolved upon Commodore Martin, who was sent to Malta for the purpose. Shortly afterwards General Pigot also arrived, and took over the command of the allied land forces from Graham, who remained under him at the head of the British troops only.

On the 18th January, 1800, Nelson encountered off Cape Passaro a French squadron, conveying troops from Toulon for the relief of Malta, which he completely defeated. This failure to assist the garrison made it clear that a surrender must soon take place; still, the gallant Vaubois determined to hold out to the last. Not a murmur of discontent at this decision was heard in the ranks; on the contrary, the soldiers aided their officers in every possible way, and to the very last the cry of *no surrender* was the popular watchword. Month after month of the year 1800 passed away, and no further attempt at relief was made; at length it became evident that the moment for submission had come. Before taking this step, Vaubois made one last effort to save the ships which had fled for refuge to Malta. Great precautions had been taken to preserve them from the fire of the Maltese batteries, and although they had been repeatedly struck they still remained in serviceable condition. The *Guillaume Tell* had made a futile attempt at escape on the 28th March, the night being extremely dark and the wind favourable. There were, however, keen eyes watching on all the neighbouring heights; the vessel was soon discovered, the signal given, and the British fleet placed on the alert. After a sharp pursuit, and a most heroic and desperate

defence, she was captured and brought back to Malta. Now a last experiment was made to save the two frigates, the *Diane* and *Justice*, and on the 23rd August they both left the harbour, only, however, to meet the same fate as the *Guillaume Tell*.

Nothing then remained but to capitulate, and a council of war was assembled to deliberate on the measure. It was found that the stores of food would be completely exhausted by the 8th September, even at the very reduced rate of consumption then adopted, and it was decided to propose terms of surrender five days sooner. On the morning of the 3rd September, 1800, General Vaubois wrote to General Pigot offering to surrender. Major-General Graham and Commodore Martin were thereupon sent into the town to arrange the details. These were soon settled, and on the following day the British troops occupied certain points in the fortress, whilst two of their men-of-war entered the harbour. On the 8th the greater part of the French troops embarked on board the transports prepared for their reception, and set sail for Marseilles, having engaged not to serve further in the war until duly exchanged.

During the siege, which lasted one day over the two years, the garrison only consumed the full rations of seven months. All the horses and mules had been killed for the use of the hospitals after the beef had failed. Those of the inhabitants who had interest to obtain for the sick members of their families small portions of liver and other entrails were considered very fortunate.

On assuming the command of the fortress, General Pigot issued an address to the inhabitants, announcing that his Britannic Majesty took the Maltese under his protection. By the treaty of Amiens it was decided to

restore the island to the Order of St. John, with the condition that a Maltese *langue* should be established, the *langues* of both the French and English nations being permanently suppressed, and no individual of either country admissible into the fraternity; the British were to evacuate the place within three months after the conclusion of the treaty; and the fortress was to be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops until the Order had organized a force of its own. This part of the treaty (the 10th article) was strongly opposed by the Maltese, and they petitioned boldly against it. Fortunately, before the surrender was effected war once more broke out, the treaty was annulled, and Malta remained in the possession of the British.

The 7th article of the treaty of Paris in 1814 determined its destiny by handing it over "in full authority "and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty." Under England's rule the island still remains, and her government, whilst prepared to uphold its claims against all comers, prefers to base its right on the love of the Maltese. She needs not to follow the example of the French by destroying, as far as possible, all the monumental records of their predecessors. Secure in the attachment of her subjects, she can venture to recall to their memory the deeds of the heroes of old, and to restore the various records of the Grand-Masters who have successively held sway over their ancestors. The Maltese who now enters Valetta, passes through a gateway erected under British rule, on which stand, as the legitimate guardians of the city, the statues of L'Isle Adam and La Valette.

It now only remains to trace the present position of the Order. On the death of the emperor Paul, his successor

Alexander, nominated Count Soltikoff, lieutenant of the Mastery, and directed that he should convene a meeting of the council of the knights at St. Petersburg to deliberate on its future action. This assembly, which called itself the sovereign council of the Order, met on the 22nd June, 1801, and proposed a substitute for the original mode of election to the Grand-Mastership, such as was rendered absolutely necessary by the altered condition in which the fraternity was placed. Local chapters-general were to be convened in every grand-priory, and lists were to be by them prepared of such knights as they considered eligible for the vacant office, the actual nomination from amongst the names thus put forward being vested in the Pope. In accordance with this arrangement, the bailiff de Ruspoli, a member of the *langue* of Italy, was selected. This knight declined the empty and barren dignity, and the Pope afterwards named John de Tommasi in his place.

One of the first acts of the new chief was to assemble a conclave of the Order in the priory church of Messina on the 27th June, 1802, when he formally promulgated his appointment as Grand-Master. Nothing, however, of any importance to the interests of the fraternity was proposed at this meeting, nor, indeed, in the then state of affairs was anything possible. Tommasi resided until his death at Catania, and when that event took place in June, 1805, the Pope declined any longer to take upon himself the responsibility of nominating a Grand-Master in violation of the statutes of the Order. He therefore contented himself with naming the bailiff Innico Maria Guevara as lieutenant only. That officer was followed in 1814 by the bailiff Andrea di Giovanni, at whose death, in 1821, Antonio Busca was appointed.

During his rule a project was set on foot for the establishment of the fraternity in Greece, with a view to the ultimate recovery of the island of Rhodes. For this purpose, attempts were made to raise a loan of £400,000, but without success. It was at this time that, as recorded in Chapter XV., the revival of the English *langue* was first set on foot. Busca changed the locality of the convent from Catania to Ferrara by permission of Leo XII., dated 12th May, 1827, and he died in that city in 1834. He was followed successively by Carlo Candida, Filippo di Colloredo, Alessandro Borgia, and Giovanni Battista Ceschi di Santa Croce. This latter chief was appointed in 1872, and in 1879 the present Pope raised him to the dignity of Grand-Master, a title which had been in abeyance since the year 1805, and which he now holds. During the rule of Candida the fraternity removed to Rome, where the *chef-lieu* still remains.

This branch of the Order at present consists of portions of the Italian and German *langues*, with a few other scattered fragments. Of the *langue* of Italy, the grand-priories of Rome, Lombardo-Venetia, and the two Sicilies, or Messina, still survive. Of the *langue* of Germany, only the grand-priory of Bohemia; whilst the other fragments, which are affiliated to the convent under the title of associations, are the Rhenish-Westphalian, the Silesian, and the British. This latter is composed only of Roman Catholics, who have been all professed in Rome.

It will be seen, therefore, that there remain at the present day three distinct fragments, which trace their parentage to the Order of St. John—the convent at Rome; the Brandenburg branch, which has been described in Chapter XIV.; and the English *langue*, the revival of which has been alluded to above. At present these three

fragments are all isolated, but it is to be hoped that in time they may be drawn together, and that no difference of religious opinions will stand in the way of their uniting to carry out the principles embodied in the motto of their Order—

Pro utilitate hominum.

SEALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.



3

4



SEALS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.



1. The seal of Raymond du Puy.

This was found under the walls of Norwich castle. On the obverse is the Custos kneeling before a patriarchal cross, the legend being + Raimundus Custos Hospitalis Hierusalem. On the reverse is a church with three domes, doubtless intended for that of the Holy Sepulchre. The lower half shows the interior with the tomb of our Lord. At the head is a cross, above is a lamp, and at the foot what is probably intended for a swinging censer. The legend is + Hospitale De Hierusalem. An account of this seal will be found in the "Archæological Journal," vol. x., page 141.

2. A seal somewhat similar to the above, but of considerably later date. On the obverse a group of knights are kneeling before the cross, with the legend + Bulla Magistr et Conventus. On the reverse the church takes a Gothic form. The representation of our Lord is more distinct, but has the same adjuncts. The legend is + Hospitalis Jherusalem.

3. A seal of the priory of England, with the head of St. John Baptist.

4. A seal of the priory of England, probably the first seal of the institution, early in the twelfth century.

5. A seal of the grand-priory of England, showing the prior in the act of pronouncing the benediction.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE GRAND-MASTERS OF THE ORDER.



1.	RAYMOND DU PUY	..	..	French	..	..	1118—1160
2.	AUGER DE BALBEN	..	..	French	..	..	1160—1162
3.	ARNAUD DE COMPS	..	..	French	..	..	1162—1168
4.	GILBERT D'ASCALI	..	..	English (doubtful)	..	..	1168—1169
5.	GASTUS ..	..	..	doubtful	..	..	1169
6.	JOUBERT	..	..	doubtful	..	..	1169—1179
7.	ROGER DES MOULINS	..	..	doubtful	..	..	1179—1187
8.	GARNIER DE NAPOLI	..	..	English	..	..	1187
9.	ERMENGARD DAPS	..	..	doubtful	..	..	1187—1192
10.	GODFREY DE DUISSON	..	..	French	..	..	1192—1194
11.	ALFONSO OF PORTUGAL	..	..	Portuguese	..	..	1194—1195
12.	GEOFFREY LE RAT	..	..	French	..	..	1195—1207
13.	GUÉRIN DE MONTAIGU	..	..	French	..	..	1207—1230
14.	BERTRAND DE TEXI	..	..	French	..	..	1230—1231
15.	GUÉRIN	..	..	doubtful	..	..	1231—1236
16.	BERTRAND DE COMPS	..	..	French	..	..	1236—1241
17.	PETER DE VILLEBRIDE	..	..	doubtful	..	..	1241—1244
18.	WILLIAM DE CHATEAUNEUF	..	..	French	..	..	1244—1259
19.	HUGH DE REVEL	..	..	French	..	..	1259—1278
20.	NICHOLAS DE LORGUE	..	..	doubtful	..	..	1278—1289
21.	JOHN DE VILLIERS	..	..	French	..	..	1289—1297
22.	ODON DE PINS ..	..	..	French	..	..	1297—1300
23.	WILLIAM DE VILLARET	..	..	French	..	..	1300—1306
24.	FULK DE VILLARET	..	..	French	..	..	1306—1319
25.	ELYON DE VILLENEUVE	..	..	French	..	..	1319—1346

26.	DIEUDONNÉ DE GOZON	..	French	..	..	1346—1353
27.	PETER DE CORNILLAN..	..	French	..	..	1353—1355
28.	ROGER DE PINS	..	French	..	..	1355—1365
29.	RAYMOND DE BERENGER	..	French	..	..	1365—1374
30.	ROBERT DE JULLIAC	..	French	..	..	1374—1376
31.	FERDINAND D'HEREDIA	..	Spanish	..	..	1376—1396
32.	PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC	..	French	..	..	1396—1421
33.	ANTONIO FLUVIAN	..	Spanish	..	..	1421—1437
34.	JOHN DE LASTIC	..	French	..	..	1437—1454
35.	JAMES DE MILLI	..	French	..	..	1454—1461
36.	PETER RAYMOND ZACOSTA	..	Spanish	..	..	1461—1467
37.	JOHN ORSINI	..	Italian	..	..	1467—1476
38.	PETER D'AUBUSSON	..	French	..	..	1476—1503
39.	ALMERIC D'AMBOISE	..	French	..	..	1503—1512
40.	GUY DE BLANCHFORT	..	French	..	..	1512—1513
41.	FABRIZIO CARRETTO	..	Italian	..	..	1513—1521
42.	PHILIP VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM	..	French	..	..	1521—1534
43.	PETER DEL PONTE	..	Italian	..	..	1534—1535
44.	DIDIER DE ST. GILLES	..	French	..	..	1535—1536
45.	JOHN D'OMEDES	..	Spanish	..	..	1536—1553
46.	CLAUDE DE LA SANGLE	..	French	..	..	1553—1557
47.	JOHN DE LA VALETTE..	..	French	..	..	1557—1568
48.	PETER DEL MONTE	..	Italian	..	..	1568—1572
49.	JOHN L'ÉVÊQUE DE LA CAS- SIÈRE	..	French	..	..	1572—1581
50.	HUGH DE VERDALA	..	French	..	..	1581—1595
51.	MARTIN GARCES	..	Spanish	..	..	1595—1601
52.	ALOF DE VIGNACOURT..	..	French	..	..	1601—1622
53.	LOUIS MENDES DE VASCONCEL- LOS	..	Spanish	..	..	1622—1625
54.	ANTOINE DE PAULE	..	French	..	..	1625—1636
55.	JOHN DE LASCARIS	..	French	..	..	1636—1657
56.	MARTIN DE REDIN	..	Spanish	..	..	1657—1660
57.	ANNET DE CLERMONT..	..	French	..	..	1660
58.	RAFAEL COTTONER	..	Spanish	..	..	1660—1663
59.	NICHOLAS COTTONER	..	Spanish	..	..	1663—1680
60.	GREGORY CARAFFA	..	Italian	..	..	1680—1690

61. ADRIAN DE VIGNACOURT	..	French	..	..	1690—1697
62. RAYMOND PERRELOS	..	Spanish	..	..	1697—1720
63. MARK ANTONY ZONDODARI	..	Italian	..	..	1720—1722
64. ANTONY MANÖEL DE VILHENA		Portuguese	..	..	1722—1736
65. RAYMOND DESPUIG	..	Spanish	..	..	1736—1741
66. EMANUEL PINTO	..	Portuguese	..	..	1741—1773
67. FRANÇOIS XIMENES	..	Spanish	..	..	1773—1775
68. EMMANUEL DE ROHAN	..	French	..	..	1775—1797
69. FERDINAND VON HOMPESCH	..	German	..	..	1797—1799